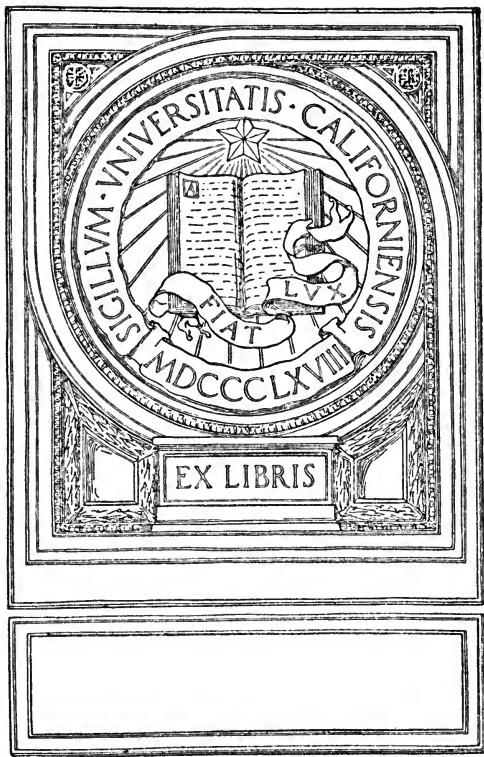


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A
PHILOSOPHICAL and POLITICAL

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

British Settlements and Trade

I N

NORTH AMERICA.

VOLUME the SECOND.



A
PHILOSOPHICAL and POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
B R I T I S H
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

From the FRENCH of Abbé RAYNAL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by C. MACFARQUHAR.

Sold by the BOOKSELLERS.

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1776

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A
PHILOSOPHICAL and POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
B R I T I S H
Settlements and Trade in AMERICA.

B O O K III.

OF CANADA, ACQUIRED FROM THE
FRENCH.

C H A P. I.

Face of the country. Climate. Govern-
ment, customs, virtues, and vices,
of the Indians.

THE unbounded space that opened it-
self to the view of the first settlers,
discovered only dark, thick, and deep
forests, whose height alone was a proof of their

antiquity. Numberless large rivers came down from a considerable distance to water these immense regions. The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four of these measured from two to five hundred leagues round. These sort of inland seas communicated with each other; and their waters, after forming the great river St Lawrence, considerably increased the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part of the new world appeared grand and sublime. Nature here displayed such luxuriance and majesty as commanded veneration; and a thousand wild graces, far superior to the artificial beauties of our climates. Here the imagination of a painter or a poet would have been raised, animated, and filled with those ideas which leave a lasting impression on the mind. All these countries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This temperature, which from the position of the climate must have been extremely pleasant, lost nothing of its wholesomeness by the singular severity of a long and intense winter. Those who impute this singularity merely to the woods, springs, and mountains, with which this country abounds, have not taken every thing into consideration. Others add to these causes of the cold, the elevation of the land, a pure ærial atmosphere seldom loaded with vapours, and the direction of the winds which

which blow from north to south over frozen seas.

Yet the inhabitants of this sharp climate were but thinly clad. A cloak of buffalo or beaver skin, bound with a leathern girdle, and stockings made of roe-buck skin, was the whole of their dress before their intercourse with us. What they have added since gives great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

Few of these savages knew any thing of husbandry : they only cultivated maize ; and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. Their bitterest imprecation against an enemy was, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condescend to go a-fishing ; but the employment of their life and their glory was hunting. For this purpose the whole nation went out as they did to war ; every family, every hut, marched in search of sustenance. They prepared for the expedition by severe fasting, and never stirred out till they had implored the assistance of their god ; they did not pray for strength to kill the beasts, but that they might be so fortunate as to meet with them. No persons staid at home, except infirm and old men ; all the rest sallied forth, the men to kill the game, and the

women to dry and bring it home. They imagined that the winter was the finest season of the year : the bear, the roe-buck, the stag, and the elk, could not then run with any degree of swiftness through snow that was four or five feet deep on the ground. The savages, who were stopt neither by the bushes, the torrents, the ponds, nor the rivers, and who could out-run most of the swifter animals, were seldom unsuccessful in the chase. When they failed in their sport, they lived upon acorns ; and for want of these, they fed upon the sap or inner skin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aspen-tree and the birch.

In the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the snow, and the canoes for crossing the lakes and rivers. These travelling implements, and a few earthen pots, were all the arts of these wandering nations. Those among them who were collected in towns, added to these the labours requisite for their sedentary way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and securing them from being attacked. The savages then gave themselves up to a total inaction, in the most profound security. This people, content with their lot, and satisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that restlessness which
arises

arises from a sense of our own weakness, that loathing of ourselves and every thing about us, that necessity of flying from solitude, and easing ourselves of the burden of life by throwing it upon others.

Their stature in general was beautifully proportioned; but they had more agility than strength, and were better calculated for swiftness than hard labour. Their features were regular, with that fierce countenance which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was copper-colour; and they had it from nature, which tans all men who are constantly exposed to the open air. This complexion was rendered still more disagreeable by the absurd custom that all savages have of painting their bodies and faces, either to distinguish each other at a distance, or to make themselves more agreeable to their mistresses, or more formidable in war. Besides this varnish, they rubbed themselves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fish, which prevented the intolerable stings of gnats and insects that swarm in uncultivated countries. These ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices which were supposed to be a deadly poison to the moschettoes. To these several methods of anointing themselves, which penetrate and discolour the skin, may be added the fumigations they made in their huts to

keep off those insects, and the smoke of the fires they kept all winter to warm themselves and to dry their meat. This was sufficient to make them appear frightful to our people, though they undoubtedly imagined that it added to their beauty. Their sight, smell, and hearing, and all their senses, were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. These were few, but their sicknesses were still fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occasioned by too violent exercise, or eating too much after long abstinence.

Their population was but moderate; and possibly this might be an advantage to them. Polished nations must wish for an increase of population; because, as they are governed by ambitious rulers, the more inclined to war from not being personally engaged in it, they are under a necessity of fighting, either to invade or repulse their neighbours; and because they never have a sufficient extent of territory to satisfy their enterprizing and expensive way of living. But unconnected nations, who are always wandering, and guarded by the deserts which divide them; who can fly when they are attacked, and whose poverty preserves them from committing or suffering any injustice; such savage nations had no occasion to multiply. If they are but able to resist the wild beasts, occasionally to
drive

drive away an insignificant enemy, and mutually to assist each other, nothing more is required. If they were more populous, they would the sooner have exhausted the countries they inhabit, and be forced to remove in search of others; the only, or at least the greatest, misfortune attending their precarious way of life.

Independent of these reflections, which, possibly, did not occur so strongly to the savages of Canada, the nature of things was alone sufficient to check their increase. Tho' they lived in a country abounding in game and fish, yet in some seasons, and sometimes for whole years, this single resource failed them: and famine then made a dreadful havock among people who were at too great a distance to assist each other. Their wars or transient hostilities, the result of old animosities, were very destructive. Men constantly accustomed to hunt their prey, to tear in pieces the animal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death, and see the shedding of blood, must have been still more unmerciful in war, if possible, than our own people. In a word, notwithstanding all that has been said in favour of inuring children to hardships, and which misled Peter the Great to such a degree, that he ordered that none of his sailors children should drink any thing but sea water; an experiment which proved fatal to all

who tried it ; it is certain, that a great many young savages perished thro' hunger, thirst, cold, and fatigue. Even those whose constitution was strong enough to bear the usual exercises of those climates, to swim over the broadest rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without sleep, to subsist a considerable time without any food ; such men must have been exhausted, and totally unfit for the purposes of generation. Few lived so long as our people, who lead a more uniform and quiet life.

The austerity of a Spartan education, the custom of inuring children to hard labour and coarse food, has been productive of dangerous mistakes. Philosophers, desirous of alleviating the miseries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of hardships, by persuading them that it was the most wholesome and the best. The rich have eagerly adopted a system, which hardened their hearts against the sufferings of the poor, and excused them from the duties of humanity and compassion. But it is a mistake to imagine that men who are employed in the more laborious arts of society, should live as long as those who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour strengthens the human frame, excessive labour impairs it. A peasant

fant is an old man at sixty; whilst the inhabitants of towns, who live in affluence and with some degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourscore and upwards. Even men of letters, whose employments are by no means conducive to health, afford many instances of longevity. Let not our modern productions propagate this false and cruel error, and encourage the rich to disregard the groans of the poor, and transfer all their sensibility from their vassals to their dogs and horses.

Three original languages were spoken in Canada; the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were considered as primitive languages, because each of them contained many of those imitative words, which convey an idea of things by the sound. The dialects derived from them were nearly as many as their towns. No abstruse terms were found in those languages, because the infant mind of the savages seldom goes beyond the present object and the present time; and as they have but few ideas, they seldom need to represent several under one and the same sign. Besides, the language of these people, generally arising from a quick, single, and strong sensation, excited by the great scenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical cast in their strong and active imagination. The astonishment and admiration
which

which their very ignorance excited, gave them a strong propensity to exaggeration. Their soul expressed what their eyes saw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in strong colouring, and their discourses were quite picturesque. For want of terms agreed upon to denote certain compound ideas, they made use of figurative expressions. What was still wanting in speech, they supplied by their gestures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldest metaphors were more familiar to them in common conversation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their speeches in public assemblies, especially, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever spoke, perhaps, with more strength and sublimity than one of their chiefs. Our people wanted to persuade them to remove at a distance from their native soil. *We were born, said he, on this ground, our fathers lie buried in it. Shall we say to the bones of our fathers, Arise, and come with us into a foreign land?*

It may easily be imagined that such nations could not be so gentle nor so weak as those of South America. They shewed that they had that activity and energy which are always found in the northern nations, unless, like the Laplanders, they are of a different

ferent species from ourselves. They had but just attained to that degree of knowledge and civilization, to which instinct alone may lead men in the space of a few years; and it is among such people that a philosopher may study man in his natural state.

They were divided into several small nations, whose form of government was nearly similar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others elected them; the greater part were only directed by their old men. They were mere associations, formed by chance, and always free; united, indeed, but bound by no tie. The will of individuals was not even overruled by the general one. All decisions were considered only as matter of advice, which was not binding, or enforced by any penalty. If, in one of these singular republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war against a common enemy, than an act of justice exercised against a subject. Instead of coercive power; good manners, example, education, a respect for old men, and parental affection, maintained peace in those societies, that had neither laws nor property. Reason, which had not been misled by prejudice or corrupted by passion, as it is with us, served them instead of moral precepts and regulations of police. Harmony and security were maintained without the interposition of government. Authority
never

never inroached upon that powerful instinct of nature, the love of independence, which enlightened by reason produces in us the love of equality.

Hence arises that regard which the savages have for each other. They lavish their expressions of esteem, and expect the same in return. They are obliging, but reserved; they weigh their words, and listen with great attention. Their gravity, which looks like a kind of melancholy, is particularly observable in their national assemblies. Every one speaks in his turn, according to his age, his experience, and his services. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections or ill-timed applause. Their public affairs are managed with such disinterestedness as is unknown in our governments, where the welfare of the state is hardly ever promoted but from selfish views or party spirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of these savage orators, when his speech has met with universal applause, telling those who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deserving of their confidence.

This mutual respect amongst the inhabitants of the same place prevails between the several nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendship which is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance.

Wan-

Wandering nations, who have not the least notion of a domain, never negotiate for a project of conquest, or for any interests relative to dominion. Even those who have a settled home, never quarrel with others for coming to live in their district, provided they do not molest them. The earth, say they, is made for all men; no one must possess the share of two. All the politics, therefore, of the savages consist in forming leagues against an enemy who is too numerous or too strong, and in suspending hostilities that become too destructive. When they are agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt or string of beads, which are a kind of snail-shells. The white ones are very common; but the purple ones, which are scarcer, and the black, which are still more so, are much esteemed. They work them into a cylindrical form, bore them; and then make them up into branches or necklaces. The branches are about a foot long, and the beads are strung upon them in straight rows. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little slips of leather. The measure, weight, and colour of the shells, determine the importance of the business. They serve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations.

nations and individuals. They are the sacred and inviolable pledge which gives a sanction to words, to promises, and to treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of these records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and by means of these signs, they transmit the history of the country to their young people.

As the savages possess no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A striking instance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows, and infirm people. They liberally share their scanty provision with those whose crops have failed, or who have been unsuccessful in hunting or fishing. Their tables and their huts are open night and day to strangers and travellers. This generous hospitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public blessing, is chiefly conspicuous in their entertainments. A savage claims respect, not so much from what he possesses as from what he gives away. Accordingly the whole provision of a six months chase is often expended in one day, and he who treats enjoys more pleasure than his guests.

None of the writers who have described the manners of the savages have reckoned benevolence amongst their virtues. But this may be owing to prejudice, which has made them confound antipathy and resentment
with

with natural temper. These people neither love nor esteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality of conditions, which we think so necessary for the well-being of society, is in their opinion the greatest folly. They are shocked to see, that, amongst us, one man has more property than several others put together; and that this first injustice is productive of a second, which is, that the man who has most riches is on that account the most respected. But what appears to them a meanness below that of the brute creation is, that men who are equal by nature should stoop to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The respect we show to titles, dignities, and especially to hereditary nobility, they call an insult, an injury to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods, with no other guide than the wind and sun, or any provision but a bow and arrows; he is a man, and what more can be expected of him? That restless disposition which prompts us to cross so many seas, to seek a fortune that flies before us, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of industry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all those customs which inspire us with vanity in proportion as they remove us from the state of nature.

nature. Their frankness and honesty is roused to indignation at the tricks and cunning which have been practised in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, some founded on prejudice, but most on reason, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have used reprisals, and are become harsh and cruel in their dealings with us. That aversion and contempt they have conceived for our morals, has always made them shun our society. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to the indulgences of our way of life; whereas we have seen some Europeans forego all the conveniences of civil life, go into the forests, and take up the bow and the club of the savage. An innate spirit of benevolence, however, sometimes brings them back to us. At the beginning of the winter, a French vessel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticosti. Such of the sailors as had escaped, in this desert and savage island, the rigour of the season and the dangers of famine, constructed, from the remains of their ship, a bark, which in the spring season conveyed them to the continent. They were observed in a languid and expiring state by a canoe full of savages. *Brethren*, said the chief of this solitary family, addressing himself affectionately to them, *the wretched are entitled to our pity and our assistance. We are men, and the misfortunes in-*

cident to the human race affect us as much in others as in ourselves. These humane expressions were accompanied with every kind of help these generous savages had it in their power to bestow.

One thing was wanting to complete the happiness of the free Americans; they were not passionately fond of their wives. Nature indeed has bestowed on their women a good shape, beautiful eyes, pleasing features, and long black hair. All these accomplishments are no longer regarded than whilst they are in a state of independence. They no sooner submit to the matrimonial yoke, but that even their husband, who is the only man they love, grows insensible to those charms they are so liberal of before marriage. Indeed, they are doomed to a way of life that is not favourable to beauty. Their features alter, and they lose at once the desire and the power of pleasing. They are laborious, indefatigable, and active. They dig the ground, sow, and reap; whilst their husbands, who disdain to stoop to the drudgeries of husbandry, amuse themselves with hunting, fishing, shooting with a bow, and exercising the dominion of man over the earth.

Many of these nations allow a plurality of wives; and even those that do not practise polygamy, admit of divorce. The very idea

of an indissoluble tie never once entered the thoughts of these people who are free till death. When those who are married disagree, they part by consent, and divide their children between them. Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reason than the contrary system which prevails among Christians. *The great spirit, say they, hath created us all to be happy; and we should offend him, were we to live in a perpetual state of constraint and uneasiness.* This system agrees with what one of the Miamis said to one of our missionaries: *My wife and I were continually at variance. My neighbour disagreed equally with his. We have changed wives, and are all satisfied.*

It has been generally said, that the savages are not much addicted to the pleasures of love. But if they are not so fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps, for want of powers or inclination to population. But the first wants of nature may, perhaps, check in them the claims of the second. Their strength is almost all exhausted in procuring their food. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leisure of attending to population. No wandering nation can ever be populous. What must become of women obliged to follow their husbands to the distance of a hundred leagues, with children at their breast or in their

their arms? What would become of the children themselves if deprived of the milk that must necessarily dry up in the course of the journey? Hunting, then, prevents the increase of mankind, and even destroys it. A savage warrior resists the seducing arts of young women who strive to allure him. When nature compels this tender sex to make the first advances, and to pursue the men that fly them, those who are less inflamed with military ardour, than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation. But the true warriors who have been early taught that an intercourse with women enervates strength and courage, do not give way. Canada, therefore, is not a desert from natural defects, but from the track of life which its inhabitants pursue. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their strength is employed for their own preservation. Hunger does not allow them to attend to the softer passions. If the people of the south sacrifice every thing to this desire, it is because the first is easily satisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man consumes but little, the overplus of his strength is turned wholly to population, which is likewise assisted by the warmth of the climate. In a climate where men consume more than nature affords them with ease, the time and the faculties of the human species are exhausted

hausted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

But a further proof that the savages are not less inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much fonder of their children. Their mothers suckle them till they are four or five years old, and sometimes to six or seven. From their earliest infancy, their parents respect their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, because they will not check that free and martial spirit which is one day to constitute their principal character. They even forbear to make use of strong arguments to persuade them, because this would be in some measure a restraint laid upon their free will. As they are taught nothing but what they want to know, they are the happiest children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret. The father and mother will sometimes go six months after, and weep over the grave of their child, and the mother will sprinkle it with her own milk.

The ties of friendship amongst the savages are almost as strong as those of nature, and more lasting. These are never broken by that variety of clashing interests, which, in our societies, weaken even the tenderest and most sacred connections. There the heart of one man chuses another, in which he deposits his inmost thoughts, his sentiments, his projects,
his

his sorrows, and his joys. Every thing becomes common between two friends. Their union is for life: they fight side by side; and if one falls, the other constantly dies upon his friend's body. If they are separated in some imminent danger, each calls upon the name of his friend; each invokes his spirit, this is his tutelar deity.

The savages shew a degree of penetration and sagacity, which astonishes every one who has not observed how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds slow and inactive; because we are seldom put to the trouble of thinking, and have only to learn what is already discovered. If they have brought nothing to perfection any more than the most sagacious animals, it is, probably, because these people, having no ideas but such as relate to the present wants, the equality that subsists between them lays every individual under a necessity of thinking for himself, and of spending his whole life in acquiring this occasional learning: hence it may be reasonably inferred, that the sum total of ideas in a society of savages is no more than the sum of ideas of each individual.

Instead of abstruse meditations, the savages delight in songs. They are said to have no variety in their singing; but we are uncertain whether those that have heard them had an ear properly adapted to their music. When

we first hear a foreign language, the words seem all the same, we think it is all pronounced with the same tone, without any modulation or prosody. It is only by continued habit that we learn to distinguish the words and syllables, and to perceive that some are dull and others sharp, some long and others short. The same may be equally true with regard to the melody of a people, whose song must bear some analogy to their speech.

Their dances are generally an image of war, and they usually dance completely armed. They are so exact, quick, and dreadful, that an European, when first he sees them, cannot help being struck with horror. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and scattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the spectators will remain. It is somewhat remarkable, that in the first ages of the world, and amongst savage nations, dancing should be an imitative art; and that it should have lost that characteristic in civilized countries, where it seems to be reduced to a set of steps without meaning. But it is with dances as with languages, they grow abstracted like the ideas they are intended to represent. The signs of them are more allegorical, as the minds of the people become more refined. In the same manner as a single word, in a learned language, expresses several ideas; so, in an allegorical

gorical dance, a single step, a single attitude is sufficient to excite a variety of sensations. It is owing to want of imagination either in the dancers, or the spectators, if a figured dance is not, or does not appear to be, expressive. Besides, the savages can exhibit none but strong passions and fierce manners; and these must be represented by more significant images in their dances, which are the language of gesture, the first and simplest of all languages. Nations living in a state of civil society, and in peace, have only the gentler passions to represent; which are best expressed by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It might not, however, be improper sometimes to bring back dancing to its first origin, to exhibit the old simplicity of manners, to revive the first sensations of nature by motions which represent them, and to depart from the antiquated and scientific mode of the Greeks and Romans, and adopt the lively and significant images of the rude Canadians.

These savages, always wholly taken up with the present passion, are extravagantly fond of gaming, as is usual with all idle people, and especially of games of chance. These men, who are commonly so sedate, so moderate, so disinterested, and have such a command of themselves, are outrageous, greedy, and turbulent at play; they lose their peace,

their senses, and all they are worth. Destitute of almost every thing, coveting all they see, and, when they like it, eager to have and enjoy it, they give themselves up entirely to the quickest and easiest means of acquiring it. This is a consequence of their manners, as well as of their character. The sight of present happiness always blinds them as to the evils that may ensue. Their forecast does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately silly children and terrible men. All depends with them on the present moment.

Gaming alone would incline them to superstition, even if they had not a natural propensity to that bane of the happiness of mankind. But as they have few physicians or quacks to have recourse to, they suffer less from this malady than more polished nations, and are more open to the voice of reason. The Iroquois have a confused notion of a First Being who governs the world. They never grieve at the evil which this being permits. When some mischance befalls them, they say, *The man above would have it so*; and there is, perhaps, more philosophy in this submission than in all the reasonings and declamations of our philosophers. Most other savage nations worship those two first principles, which occur to the human mind as soon as it has acquired any conception of invisible substances. Sometimes they worship a river,

a forest, the sun or the moon; in short, any beings in which they have observed a certain power and motion; because wherever they see motion, which they cannot account for, there they suppose a soul.

They seem to have some notion of a future state; but as they have no principles of morality, they do not think that the next life is a state of reward for virtue and punishment for vice. Their opinion of it consists in believing, that the indefatigable huntsman, and the fearless and merciless warrior, the man who has slain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death go into a country where he will find plenty of all kinds of animals to assuage his hunger; whereas those who are grown old in indolence and without glory, will be forever banished into a barren land, where they will be eternally tormented with famine and sickness. Their tenets are suited to their manners and their wants. They believe in such pleasures and such sufferings as they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy even in their delusions. Yet they are often tormented with dreams.

Ignorance is prone to look for something mysterious in dreams, and to ascribe them to the agency of some powerful being, who takes the opportunity, when our faculties are suspended

spended and lulled asleep, of watching over us in the absence of our senses. It is as it were a soul, distinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet see it; whereas futurity is always present to that Being who created it.

In the sharp climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be overstrained by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abstinence. When these savages have melancholy and troublesome dreams, they fancy they are surrounded with enemies; they see their town surprised, and swimming in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends, are carried off. When they awake, they take these visions for a warning from the gods; and that fear which first inspired them with this notion, makes them look more fierce and gloomy. The old women, who are useless in the world, dream for the safety of the commonwealth. Some weak old men, too, dream on public affairs, in which they have no share or influence. Young men who are unfit for war or laborious exercises, will dream too, that they may bear some part in the administration of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted, during two centuries, to dispel illusions so deeply rooted. *You Christians*, have always
answered

answered the savages, *you laugh at the faith we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things infinitely more improbable.* Thus we see in these untutored nations the seeds of priestcraft with all its train of evils.

Were it not for these melancholy fits and dreams, there would scarce ever be any contentions amongst them. Europeans who have lived long in these countries, assure us they never saw an Indian in a passion. Without superstition, there would be as few national as private quarrels.

Private differences are most commonly adjusted by the bulk of the people. The respect shewn by the nation to the aggrieved party, soothes his self-love, and disposes him to peace. It is more difficult to prevent quarrels, or put an end to hostilities, between two nations.

War often takes its rise from hunting. When two companies, which were separated by a forest a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's sport, they soon quarrel, and turn those weapons against one another, which were intended for the destruction of bears. This slight skirmish is a seed of eternal discord. The vanquished party swears implacable vengeance against the conquerors, a national hatred which will live in their posterity, and revive out of their ashes. These
quar-

quarrels, however, are sometimes stifled in the wounds of both parties, when on each side there happen to be only some fiery youths, who are desirous of trying their skill, and whose impatience has hurried them too far. But the rage of whole nations is not easily kindled.

When there is a cause for war, it is not left to the judgment and decision of one man. The nation meets, and the chief speaks. He states the grievances. The matter is considered, the dangers and the consequences of a rupture are carefully balanced. The speakers enter directly on the subject, without stopping, without digression, or mistaking the case. The several interests are discussed with a strength of reasoning and eloquence that arises from the evidence and simplicity of the objects; and even with an impartiality that is less biassed by their strong passions, than it is with us by a complication of ideas. If they unanimously decide for war by an universal shout, the allies are invited to join them, which they seldom refuse, as they always have some injury to revenge, or some dead to replace by prisoners.

They next proceed to the election of a chief, or captain of the expedition; and great stress is laid upon physiognomy. This might be a fallacious and even ridiculous way of judging of men, where they have
been

been trained up from their infancy to disguise their real sentiments, and where, by a constant practice of dissimulation and factitious passions, the countenance is no longer expressive of the mind. But a savage, who is solely guided by nature, and is acquainted with its workings, is seldom mistaken in the judgment he forms at first sight. The chief requisite, next to a warlike aspect, is a strong voice; because in armies that march without drums or clarions, the better to surprise the enemy, nothing is so proper to sound an alarm, or to give the signal for the onset, as the terrible voice of a chief who shouts and strikes at the same time. But the best recommendations for a general, are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boast of his victories, in order to march foremost to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to shew what he will do; and the savages think self-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can shew his scars.

He that is to head the rest in the road to victory, never fails to harangue them. "Comrades, (says he), the bones of our brethren are still uncovered. They cry out against us; we must satisfy them. Young men, to arms; fill your quivers; paint yourselves with gloomy colours that may strike terror. Let the woods ring with our warlike songs. Let us soothe the dead
" with

“ with the shouts of vengeance. Let us go
 “ and bathe in the blood of our enemies,
 “ take prisoners, and fight as long as water
 “ shall flow in the rivers, and as long as the
 “ sun and moon shall remain fixed in the
 “ firmament.”

At these words, the brave men who long to encounter the hazards of war, go to the chief, and say, *I will risk with thee. So you shall*, replies the chief, *we will risk together*. But as no one has been solicited, lest a false point of honour should induce cowards to march, a man must undergo many trials before he can be admitted as a soldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy, should betray the least impatience, when, after long abstinence, he is exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, the intense frosts of the night, or the bloody stings of insects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are our militias and armies formed in this manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is ours! Men who have not been able to save themselves, by flight, from being pressed into the service, or could not procure an exemption by purchase or by claiming some privilege, drag themselves heavily along, with downcast looks, and pale dejected faces, before a delegate, whose functions are odious to the people, and whose honesty is doubt-

doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents seem to be following their son to the grave. A black scroll, issuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A distracted mother in vain presses her son to her bosom, and strives to detain him; he is torn from her arms, and she bids him farewell for ever, cursing the day of her marriage and that of her delivery. It is not, surely, thus that good soldiers are to be formed. It is not in this mournful way, and with such consternation, that the savages meet victory. They march out in the midst of festivity, singing, and dancing. The young married women follow their husbands for a day or two, but without showing any signs of grief or sorrow. These women, who never once cry out in the pangs of child-birth, would scorn to soften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by their tears, or even by their endearments.

Their weapons are a kind of spear armed with sharp bones, and a small club of very hard wood, with one cutting edge. Instead of this last, since their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make use of a hatchet, which they handle with amazing dexterity. Most of them have no instrument of defence; but if they chance to attack the pales that surround a town, they cover their body with a thick plank. Some used to wear a
kind

kind of cuirafs made with plaited reeds ; but they left it off, when they faw it was not proof againft fire-arms.

The army is followed by dreamers, who affume the name of jugglers, and are too often fuffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors, who fight almoft naked to be the more alert, daub their bodies with coals, to appear more terrible, or elfe with mould, to conceal themfelves at a diftance, and the better to furprife the enemy. Notwithstanding their natural intrepidity, and averfion for all difguife, their wars degenerate into artifice. Thefe deceitful arts, common to all nations whether favage or civilized, are become neceffary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally deftroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to confift in bringing home all their companions, rather than in fhedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is aware. Thefe people, whole fenses have never been impaired, are extremely quick-fcented, and can difcover the places where men have trod. By the keennefs of their fight or fmell, it is faid they can trace footfteps upon the fhorteft grafs, upon the dry ground, and even upon ftone; and from the nature of the footfteps, can find

find out what nation they belong to. Perhaps they may discover this by the leaves with which the forests always strew the ground.

When they are so fortunate as to surprise the enemy, they discharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon him with their clubs or hatchets in their hands. If he is upon his guard, or too well intrenched, they retreat if they can; if not, they must fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party dispatch the wounded men whom they could not carry away, scalp the dead, and take some prisoners.

The conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previously engraved upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family, and especially his own picture; that is to say, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all these ensigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the stump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with several colours. To this they add the history, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign, in hieroglyphic characters. Immediately after the general's picture, are those of his soldiers, marked by so many lines; the number of prisoners pointed out by so many little images, and that of the dead by so many human figures without heads. Such

are the expressive and technical signs which, in all original societies, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and encumber the heads of the learned.

The history of an Indian war is but a short one; they make haste to set it down, for fear the enemy should turn back and fall upon them. The conqueror glories in a precipitate retreat, and never stops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmest transports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauses of his countrymen. They then consider how they shall dispose of the prisoners, who are the only fruit of their victory.

The most fortunate of the captives are those who are chosen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action or in former battles. This adoption has been wisely contrived, to perpetuate nations which would soon be destroyed by frequent wars. The prisoners, being once incorporated into a family, become cousins, uncles, fathers, brothers, husbands: in short, they succeed to any degree of consanguinity in which the deceased stood whose place they supply; and these affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the same time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from decli-

declining the attachments which are due to the family that has adopted them, they will not refuse even to take up arms against their own countrymen. Yet this is surely a strange inversion of the ties of nature. They must be very weak-minded men, thus to shift the object of their regard with the vicissitudes of fortune. The truth is, that war seems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himself alone. Hence arises that union between friends observable among the savages, stronger than those that subsist between relations. Those who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached than those who are born together or under the same roof. When war or death has dissolved that kindred which is cemented by nature or has been formed by choice, the same fate which loads the savage with chains gives him new relations and friends. Custom and common consent have introduced this singular law, which undoubtedly sprang from necessity.

But it sometimes happens, that a prisoner refuses this adoption ; sometimes, that he is excluded from it. A tall handsome prisoner had lost several of his fingers in battle. This circumstance was not noticed at first. *Friend*, said the widow to whom he was allotted, *we had chosen thee to live with us ; but in the condition I see thee, unable to fight and to defend*

us, of what use is life to thee? Death is certainly preferable. I believe it is, answered the savage. *Well then,* replied the woman, *this evening thou shalt be tied to the stake. For thy own glory, and for the honour of our family who have adopted thee, remember to behave as a man of courage.* He promised he would, and kept his word. For three days he endured the most cruel torments with a constancy and cheerfulness that set them all at defiance. His new family never forsook him; but encouraged him by their applause, and supplied him with drink and tobacco in the midst of his sufferings. What mixture of virtue and ferocity! every thing is great in these people who are not enslaved. This is the sublime of nature in all its horrors and its beauties.

The captives whom none chuse to adopt, are soon condemned to death. The victims are prepared for it by every thing that may tend to inspire them with a regret for life. The best fare, the kindest usage, the most endearing names, are lavished upon them. They are even sometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their sentence. Is this compassion, or is it a refinement of barbarity? At last a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. *Brother,* says he, *be patient, thou art going to*
be

be burnt. Very well, brother, says the prisoner, I thank thee.

These words are received with general applause; but the women are the most eager in the common joy. She to whom the prisoner is delivered up, instantly invokes the shade of a father, a husband, a son, the dearest friend whose death is still unrevenged. *Draw near, she cries, I am preparing a feast for thee. Come and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. They will apply hot hatchets all over his body: They will pull off his hair: They will drink out of his skull: Thou shalt be avenged and satisfied.*

This furious woman then rushes upon her victim, who is tied to a post near the fiery pile; and by striking or maiming him, she gives the signal for the intended cruelties. There is not a woman or a child in the clan whom this sight has brought together who does not take a part in the torturing and slaying of the miserable captive. Some pierce his flesh with firebrands, others cut it in slices; some tear off his nails, whilst others cut off his fingers, roast them, and devour them before his face. Nothing stops his executioners but the fear of hastening his end: they study to prolong his sufferings for whole days, and sometimes they make him linger for a whole week.

In the midst of these torments, the hero with great composure sings his death-song; insults his enemies, upbraids them for their weakness, tells them they know not how to revenge the death of their relations whom he has slain, and excites them by outrages or intreaties to a further exertion of their cruelties. It is a conflict between the victim and his tormentors, a dreadful challenge between constancy in suffering and obstinacy in tormenting. But the sense of glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of enthusiasm suspends or wholly benumbs all sense of pain, or whether custom and education alone produce these prodigies of heroism, certain it is, that the patient dies without ever shedding a tear or heaving a sigh.

How shall we account for this insensibility? Is it owing to the climate, or to their manner of life? No doubt, colder blood, thicker humours, a constitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampness of the air and the ground, may blunt the irritability of the nervous system in Canada. Men who are constantly exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunting, and the perils of war, contract such a rigidity of the fibres, such a habit of suffering, as makes them insensible to pain. It is said the savages are scarce ever convulsed in the agonies of death, whether they die of sickness

ness or of a wound. As they have no apprehensions either of the approaches or the consequences of death, their imagination does not suggest that artificial sensibility which mere nature will inspire. Their whole life, both natural and moral, is calculated to inspire them with a contempt for death, which we so much dread; and to enable them to overcome the sense of pain, which is irritated by our indulgences.

But what is still more astonishing in the Indians than their intrepidity in torments, is the ferociousness of their revenge. It is dreadful to think that man may become the most cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not atrocious either among nations or between individuals who are governed by good laws; because those very laws which protect the subjects, keep them from offending. Vengeance is not a very quick sentiment in the wars of great nations, because they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in those petty nations, where every individual constitutes a great part of the state himself, where the carrying off of one man endangers the whole community, war can be nothing else than the spirit of revenge that actuates the whole state: amongst independent men who have that self-esteem which can never be felt by men who are under subjection, amongst savages whose affec-

tions are very lively and confined, injuries must necessarily be resented to the greatest degree, because they affect the person in the most sensible manner: the assassination of a friend, of a son, of a brother, or of a fellow-citizen, cannot but be avenged to the last drop of the murderer's blood. These ever-beloved shades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the forests, amidst the mournful accents of the birds of night; they appear in the phosphorus and in the lightning; and superstition speaks of them in the afflicted or incensed hearts of their friends.

When we consider the hatred which the hordes of these savages bear to each other; the hardships they undergo; the scarcity they are often exposed to; the frequency of their wars; the scantiness of their population; the numberless snares we lay for them; we cannot but foresee, that, in less than three centuries, the whole race will be extinct. What will posterity then think of this species of men, who will exist no more but in the accounts of travellers? Will not the times of savages appear to them in the same light as the fabulous times of antiquity do to us? They will speak of them, as we do of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. How many contradictions shall we not discover in their customs and manners? Will not such of our writings

as may then have escaped the destructive hand of time, pass for romantic inventions, like those which Plato has left us concerning the ancient Atlantica?

CH A P. II.

Wars of the INDIANS. The Colonists embroil themselves therein.

THE character of the North Americans, such as we have described it, had singularly displayed itself in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. These two nations, the largest in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies; who, in return, shared with them the produce of their chase. Connected as they both were by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the season when the snow interrupted all the labours of the field, they lived together. The Algonquins went out a hunting; and the Iroquois staid at home to skin the beasts, cure the flesh, and dress the hides.

It happened one year, that a party of Algonquins, who were not very skilful or well versed in the chase, proved unsuccessful. The Iroquois who attended them desired
leave

leave to try whether they should be more fortunate. This complaisance, which had sometimes been shewn them, was denied. Irritated at this unseasonable refusal, they stole away in the night, and brought home a plentiful capture. The Algonquins were greatly mortified; and to blot out the very remembrance of their disgrace, they waited till the Iroquois hunters were asleep, and slew them all. This massacre occasioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded justice, which was haughtily refused; and they were given to understand that they must not expect even the smallest satisfaction.

The Iroquois, enraged at this contemptuous treatment, swore to be revenged, or perish in the attempt. But not being powerful enough to venture an attack upon the proud offenders, they removed to a greater distance in order to try their strength and improve themselves in the art of war against some less formidable nations. As soon as they had learnt to come on like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they express themselves, they were no longer afraid to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried on a war against them with a degree of ferociousness proportionable to their resentment.

It was just at the time when these animosities

fities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their first appearance there. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St Lawrence; the Algonquins, who lived along the banks of that river, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were dispersed about the lake that bears that name; and some less considerable nations, who wandered about in the intermediate spaces; were all of them inclined to favour the settlement of the strangers. These several nations combined against the Iroquois; but, unable to withstand them, imagined that they might find in their new guests an unexpected resource, from which they promised themselves infallible success. Judging of the French as if they had known them, they flattered themselves they might engage them in their quarrel, and were not disappointed. Champlain, the leader of the first colony, and the founder of Quebec, who ought to have availed himself of the superiority of knowledge the Europeans had over the Americans to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, did not even attempt it. He warmly espoused the interests of his neighbours, and accompanied them in quest of their enemy.

The country of the Iroquois extended near eighty leagues in length, and somewhat more than forty in breadth. Its boundaries were,

were, the lake Erie, the lake Ontario, the river St Lawrence, and the famous countries since known by the names of New-York and Pennsylvania. The space between these vast limits was watered by several fine rivers. It was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thousand warriors into the field; though they are now reduced to less than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or association, not unlike that of the Switzers or the Dutch. Their deputies met once a-year, to hold their feast of union, and to deliberate on the interests of the commonwealth.

Though the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies who had so often been conquered, yet they were not unprepared. The engagement was begun with equal confidence on both sides; one part relying on their usual superiority, the other on the assistance of their new ally, whose fire-arms could not fail of insuring the victory. And, indeed, no sooner had Champlain and two Frenchmen who attended him fired a shot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmost amazement and consternation.

An alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of changing their mode of defence. In the next campaign, they imagined

gined it would be necessary to intrench themselves against weapons they were unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffectual. Notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, their intrenchments were forced by the Indians, supported by a brisker fire and a great number of Frenchmen than in the first expedition. The Iroquois were almost all killed or taken. Those who had escaped the action were precipitated into a river and drowned.

It is most probable that this nation would have been destroyed, or compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in 1610 had founded the colony of new Belgia in their neighbourhood, furnished them with arms and ammunition. Possibly, too, they might secretly excite their divisions; because the furs taken from the enemy, during the continuance of hostilities, were a greater object than those they could procure from their own chase. However this may be, this additional weight restored the balance of strength between both parties. Various hostilities and injuries were committed by each nation, and they were both in consequence of them considerably weakened. This perpetual ebb and flow of success or misfortunes, which, in governments actuated by motives of interest rather than of revenge, would infallibly have restored tranquillity, served but to increase
their

their animosities, and to exasperate a number of little clans, resolved upon destroying one another. The consequence was, that the weakest of these petty nations were soon destroyed, and the rest were gradually reduced to nothing.

CH A P. III.

Of the F U R S.

BEFORE the discovery of Canada, the forests with which it was over-run were little more than the extensive haunt of wild beasts. They had multiplied prodigiously, because the few men who lived in those deserts without flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for the animal race, wandering and free like themselves. If the nature of the climate did not afford an infinite variety, each species produced at least a multitude of individuals. But they at last paid tribute to the sovereignty of man, that cruel title so fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts nor husbandry to employ them, the savages fed and clothed themselves wholly at the expence of the wild beasts. As soon as our luxury had made us adopt the use of their skins, the natives waged a perpetual war against them; which was the more active, as it procured them plenty, and a variety

riety of gratifications which their senses were unaccustomed to; and the more fatal, as they had adopted the use of our fire-arms. This destructive industry brought over from the woods of Canada into the ports of France a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs, some of which were consumed in the kingdom, and the rest were disposed of in the neighbouring countries. Most of these furs were already known in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our own hemisphere, but in too small quantities to bring them into general use. Caprice and novelty have brought them more or less into fashion, since it has been found to be for the interest of the American colonies that they should be admired in the mother countries. It may not be improper to say something of those that are still in use.

I. The OTTER is a voracious animal, which, as it runs or swims along the banks of lakes or rivers, commonly lives upon fish; and when that fails, will feed upon grass, and even the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner of living he has been ranked amongst amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, since the otter cannot live without respiration, any more than all other land animals. It is sometimes found in all those parts which abound in water, and are temperate; but is much

much more common and larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is no where so black or so fine; a circumstance the more fatal to him, as it exposes him more particularly to the pursuits of man.

2. The POLE-CAT is in great request on the same account. There are three sorts of them: the first is the common pole-cat; the second is called the mink; and the third the stinking pole-cat, because his urine, which he lets fly in his fright when he is pursued, is so offensive that it infects the air at a great distance. Their hair is darker, more glossy, and more silky, than in Europe.

3. Even the RAT in North-America is valuable for his skin. There are two sorts chiefly whose skin makes an article of trade. The one, which is called the *Opossum*, is twice as large as ours. His hair is commonly of a silver grey, sometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which she can open and shut at pleasure: when she is pursued, she puts her young ones into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, which is called the *Musk-rat*, because his testicles contain musk, has all the inclinations of the beaver, of which he seems to be a diminutive, and his skin is employed for the same purposes.

4. The ERMINE, which is about the size of a squirrel, but not quite so long, has, like
 2 him,

him, sprightly eyes, a keen look, and his motions are so quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and bushy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is as yellow as gold in summer, turns as white as snow in winter. This pretty, brisk, and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada; but though smaller than the Sable, is not so common.

5. The MARTIN is only to be met with in cold countries, in the centre of the forests, far from all habitations, and lives upon birds. Though it is but a foot and a half long, it leaves prints on the snow, that appear to be those of a very large animal; because it always jumps along, and leaves the mark of both feet together. Its brown and yellow fur is much esteemed, though far inferior to that species which is distinguished by the name of the *Sable*. This is a shining black. The finest of the others is that whose brownest skin reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The Martins seldom quit the inmost recesses of their impenetrable woods, but once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter; that is, a great deal of snow, and consequently good sport.

6. The animal which the ancients called *Lynx*, known in Siberia by the name of the *Ounce*, is only called the WILD CAT in Canada, where it is smaller than in our hemisphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error

would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if he were not endowed with the faculty of seeing, hearing, and smelling, at a distance; lives upon what game he can catch, which he pursues to the very tops of the tallest trees. His flesh is known to be very white and well flavoured; but he is hunted chiefly for the sake of his skin: the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey; but less esteemed than that of

7. The Fox. This carnivorous and mischievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature affording few vegetables seems to oblige all animals to eat one another. In warmer climates, he has lost much of his original beauty, and his hair has degenerated. In the north it has remained long, soft, and full, sometimes white, sometimes brown, and often red or sandy. The finest by far is black; but this is more scarce in Canada than in Muscovy, which lies further north, and is not so damp.

8. Besides these smaller furs, North-America supplies us with skins of the *Stag*, the *Deer*, and the *Roe-buck*; of the *Mooze-deer*, called there CARIBOU; and of the *Elk*, which they call ORIGNAL. These two last kinds, which in our hemisphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this side, and the mooze-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more southern latitudes.

This

This may be owing to the cold being more intense in America, from singular causes which make an exception to the general law; or, possibly, because these fresh lands are less frequented by destructive man. Their strong, soft, and warm skins make excellent garments, which are very light. All these animals, however, are hunted for the Europeans; but the savages have the chase that belongs to them, and is peculiarly their favourite. It is that of

9. The BEAR; which is best adapted to their warlike manners, their strength, and their bravery, and especially to their wants.

In a cold and severe climate, the bear is most commonly black. As he is rather shy than fierce, instead of a cavern, he chuses for his lurking place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he takes his lodgement in winter, as high as he can climb. As he is very fat at the end of autumn, takes no exercise, and is almost always asleep, he must lose but little by perspiration, and consequently must seldom want to go abroad in quest of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by setting fire to it; and as soon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a shower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his flesh, rub themselves with his grease, and clothe themselves with his skin. Such was the intent of their pursuit

suit after the bear, when a new interest directed their instinct towards

10. The BEAVER. This animal possesses all the friendly dispositions fit for society, without any of the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for social life, he is endued with an instinct adapted to it for the preservation and propagation of his species. This animal, whose tender plaintive accents, and whose striking example, draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philosopher who contemplates his life and manners; this harmless animal, which never hurts any living creature, and is neither carnivorous nor sanguinary; is become the object of man's most earnest pursuit, and the prey which the savages hunt after with the greatest eagerness and cruelty: a circumstance owing to the unmerciful rapaciousness of the most polished nations in Europe.

The beaver is about three or four feet long; but his weight amounts to forty or sixty pounds, which is the consequence of the largeness of his muscles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat; and his back, raised in an arch above it, like that of a mouse. Lucretius has observed, not that man has hands given him to make use of them; but that he had hands given him, and has made use of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he swims with them.

them. The toes of his fore-feet are separate, and answer the purpose of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with scales, he uses by way of a hoe and trowel; he has four sharp incisor-teeth, which serve him instead of carpenters tools. All these instruments, which are in a manner useless whilst he lives alone, and do not then distinguish him from other animals, are of infinite service when he lives in society, and enable him to display a degree of ingenuity superior to all instinct.

Without passions, without a desire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in society; he scarcely ventures to defend himself. He never bites, unless he is caught. But in the social state, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to secure himself without fighting, and to live without committing or suffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheless independent; he is a slave to none, because all his wants are supplied by himself: he enters into society; but will not serve, nor does he pretend to command: and all his labours are directed by a silent instinct.

It is the common want of living and multiplying that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in summer to build their towns against winter. As early as June or

July, they come in from all quarters, and assemble to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water-side, because these republicans are to live on the water to secure themselves from invasion. Sometimes they give the preference to still lakes in unfrequented districts, because there the waters are always at an equal height. When they find no pools of standing water, they make one in the midst of rivers or streams; which they do by means of a causeway or dam. The mere planning of this contrivance implies such a complication of ideas, as our short-sighted reason would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The first thing to be erected is a pile an hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the basis, which shelves away to two or three feet in a slope answerable to the depth of the waters. To save work, or to facilitate their labour, they chuse the shallowest part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-side, they fell it in such a manner as it may fall across the stream. If it should be larger in circumference than a man's body, they saw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four sharp teeth. The branches are soon lopped off by these industrious workmen, who want to fashion it into a beam. A multitude of lesser trees are felled and cut to pieces for the intended pile. Some drag
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these trees to the river side, others swim over with them to the place where the causeway is to be raised. But the question is, how these animals are to sink them in the water with the assistance only of their teeth, a tail, and feet. The following is the manner in which they contrive it. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they rest the large end of the stake against the bank of the river, or against the great beam that lies across. With their feet they raise the stake, and sink it with the sharp end downwards into the hole, where it stands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the stakes, which are bound together with twisted boughs; and thus the pile is constructed. The slope of the dam is opposite to the current, the better to break the force of the water by a gradual resistance; and the stakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The stakes are planted perpendicularly on the side where the water is to fall; and in order to open a drain which may lessen the action of the slope and weight of the causeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

When this work is finished by the whole body of the republic, every member consi-

ders of a lodging for himself. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. These huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round spot. Some are two or three stories high, according to the number of families or households. Each hut contains at least two or three, and some ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and solid both within and without. The outside is varnished with a kind of stucco, impenetrable both to the water and to the external air. Every apartment has two openings, one on the land side, to enable them to go out and fetch provisions; the other on that next the stream, to facilitate their escape at the approach of the enemy, that is, of man, the destroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the house opens to the water. There they take the fresh air in the day time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it serves to fence them against the ice, which gathers to the thickness of two or three feet. The shelf, which is to prevent its stopping up this window, rests upon two stakes that slope in such a manner as may best carry off the water from the house, and leave an outlet to creep out at, or to go and swim under the ice. The inside of the house has no other furniture than a flooring of
 grass,

grafs, covered with the boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever seen in these apartments.

The materials for these buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. These are alders, poplars, and other trees delighting in watery places, as these republicans do who build their apartments of them. These citizens have the satisfaction, at the same time that they fashion the wood, to nourish themselves with it. In imitation of certain savages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The savages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded, and properly dressed; whereas the beavers chew it and suck it when it is quite green. They lay up a provision of bark and tender twigs in separate storehouses for every hut, proportionable to the number of its inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own storehouse, and not one of them pilfers his neighbour's. Each party lives in its own habitation, and is contented with it, though jealous of the property it has acquired in it by its labour. The provisions of the community are collected and expended without dissensions. They are satisfied with that simple food which their labour prepares for them. The only passion they have is that of conjugal affection, the basis and end of which is the reproduction of their species. Towards the end of winter, the

the mothers bring forth their young ones, bred in autumn; and whilst the father ranges all the woods, allured by the sweets of the spring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the dam suckles and nurses them, to the number of two or three. Then she takes them out along with her in her excursions, in search of cray and other fish, and green bark, to recruit her own strength and to feed them, till the season of labour returns.

This republican, industrious, intelligent people, skilled in architecture, provident and systematical in its plans of police and society, is the beaver, whose gentle and exemplary manners we have been describing. Happy if his covering did not tempt merciless and savage man to destroy his buildings and his race. Frequently, when the Americans have demolished the settlements of the beavers, those indefatigable animals have had the resolution to build them up again, for several summers successively, upon the very same spot. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience warns them of their danger. At the approach of the hunters, one of them strikes a hard stroke with his tail upon the water; this signal spreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to save himself under the ice. But it is very difficult

cult to escape all the snares that are laid for this harmless tribe.

Sometimes the huntsmen lie in wait for them; but as these animals see and hear at a great distance, they can seldom be shot by the water-side, and they never venture so far from it as to be caught by surprise. Should the beaver be wounded before he has got under water, he has always time enough to plunge in; and if he dies afterwards, he is lost, because he sinks, and never rises again.

A more certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat tender bark of young trees. These traps are baited with fresh slips of wood; and as soon as the beavers touch them, an enormous weight falls and crushes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, hastens to it, seizes his prey, and having dispatched it, carries it off.

Other methods are still more commonly and more successfully practised. The huts are sometimes attacked, in order to drive out the inhabitants, and then wait for them at the edges of the holes they have bored in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in fresh air. The moment they appear, they are knocked on the head. At other times the animal, driven out of his lodgement, is entangled in the nets that are spread all round, by breaking up the ice for some
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toises round his hut. If they want to catch the whole colony at once, instead of breaking down the sluices to drown the inhabitants, as it might be done in Holland, they open the causeway, to drain off the water from the the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceless, and unable to escape, they may be caught at pleasure and destroyed at any time: but care is always taken to leave a sufficient number of males and females to preserve the breed; an act of generosity which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foresight of man only spares a few in order to have the more to destroy. The beaver, whose plaintive cry seems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the savage, whom the Europeans have made barbarous, only an implacable enemy, who no longer fights so much to supply his own wants, as to furnish superfluities to another world.

If we compare the manners, the police, and the industry, of the beavers with the wandering life of the savages of Canada; we shall be inclined to allow, admitting for the superiority of man's faculties above those of animals, that the beaver was much further advanced in the arts of social life than his pursuer, when the Europeans first brought their talents and improvements to North-America.

The beaver, an older inhabitant of that world

world than man, and the quiet possessor of those regions so well adapted to his species, had employed that quiet he had enjoyed for many ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemisphere, man has seized upon the most wholesome and fertile regions, and has driven out or subdued all other animals. If the bee and the ant have preserved their laws and government from the jealous and destructive dominion of tyrant man, this has been owing to the smallness of their size. It is thus we see some republics, having neither splendor nor strength, maintain themselves by their very weakness, in the midst of the vast monarchies of Europe, which must sooner or later swallow them up. But the sociable quadrupeds, banished into uninhabited climates unfit for their increase, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural sagacity; whilst man, who has reduced them to that precarious state, exults in their degradation, and prides himself in that superior nature and those rational powers which constitute a perpetual distinction between his species and all others.

The brutes, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and suppose no principle similar to that which actuates man. Without examining in what particulars perfection
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consists ; whether the most civilized being is in reality the most perfect ; whether what he acquires in the property of things, he does not lose in the property of his person ; or, whether all he adds to his enjoyments is not so much subtracted from his duration ; we cannot but confess, that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, solitary, timorous, and stupid animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domestic government, knew how to distinguish the proper seasons for labour and rest, was acquainted with some rules of architecture, and with the curious and learned art of constructing dikes. Yet he had attained to this degree of improvement with feeble and imperfect tools. He can hardly see the work he does with his tail. His teeth, which answer the purposes of a variety of tools, are circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the contrary, with hands fit for every purpose, hath in this single organ of the touch all the combined powers of strength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage of organization that he owes the superiority of his species above all others ? It is not because his eyes are turned towards heaven, as those of all birds are, that he is the lord of the creation ; it is because he is provided with hands that are supple, pliable, industrious, formidable, and weapons of defence, and ever ready to assist him.

him. His hand is his sceptre : it is with that he marks his dominion over the earth, by destroying and ravaging the face of the globe. The surest sign of the population of mankind is the depopulation of other species. That of beavers gradually decreases and disappears in Canada, since the Europeans have been in request of their skins.

Their skins vary with the climate, both in colour and kind. In the same district, however, where the colonies of civilized beavers are found, there are some that are wild and solitary. These animals, who are said to be turned out of society for their ill behaviour, live in a channel under ground, and have neither lodging nor storehouse. Their coat is dirty, and the hair is worn off of their backs by rubbing against the cave which they dig for their habitation. This slip, which commonly opens into some pond or ditch full of water, sometimes extends above a hundred feet in length, and slopes up gradually to facilitate their escape from inundations when the waters rise. Some of these beavers are so wild as to fly from all communication with their natural element, and to live entirely on land. In this they agree with our otters in Europe. These wild beavers have not such sleek hair as those that live in societies ; their furs are answerable to their manners.

Beavers

Beavers are found in America from the thirtieth to the sixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the south, but they increase and grow darker as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and straw-coloured; higher up, they are of a light chestnut; to the north of Canada, of a dark chestnut; and some are even found that are quite black, and these are reckoned the finest. Yet in this climate, the coldest that is inhabited by this species, there are some among the black ones that are quite white; others white speckled with grey, and sometimes with sandy spots on the rump: so much does nature delight in shewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences not only on the figure but on the very clothing of animals. The value that men set on their lives, depends upon the colour of their skins. Some they neglect to that degree, that they will not even kill them; but this is uncommon.

CH A P. IV.

In what places, and in what manner the Fur-trade was carried on.

THE fur-trade was the first the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was first opened
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by the French colony at Tadoufac, a port situated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivières, at the distance of twenty-five leagues from the capital, and higher up, became a second mart. In process of time all the fur-trade centered in Montreal. The skins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees in the month of June. The number of Indians who resorted to that place increased, as the fame of the French spread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the sight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, every thing contributed to increase the concourse. Whenever they returned with a fresh supply of furs, they always brought a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the several tribes of that vast continent resorted.

The English grew jealous of this branch of wealth ; and the colony they had founded at New York soon found means to divert the stream of this great circulation. As soon as they had secured a subsistence, by bestowing their first attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur-trade, which was at first confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations of that name would not suffer their lands to be traversed in order to give an opportu-

nity of treating with other savage nations who were at constant enmity with them; nor would they allow those nations to come upon their territories to share in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguished, or rather suspended, the national hostilities between the Indians, the English spread all over the country, and the savages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages for obtaining the preference over their rivals the French. Their navigation was easier, and consequently they could afford to undersell them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarse cloths that best suited the savages. The beaver-trade was free among them; whereas, among the French, it was, and ever has been, subject to the tyranny of monopoly.

At this time the French in Canada indulged themselves more freely in a custom which at first had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the first colonists, had been wisely restrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permission was, however, granted every year to twenty-five persons to extend beyond these limits, to trade with the Indians. The superiority which New York was acquiring, was the cause of increasing the number

ber of these permissions. They were a kind of patent, which the patentees might make use of either in person or by proxy, and which lasted a year or more. They were sold; and the produce was distributed by the governor of the colony to the officers or their widows and children, to hospitals and missionaries, to such as had distinguished themselves by some great action or some useful undertaking, and sometimes even to the creatures of the governor who sold the patents himself. The money which he did not give away, or did not chuse to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was accountable to none for his administration.

This custom was attended with fatal consequences. Many of these traders settled among the Indians, to defraud their partners whose goods they had disposed of. Many more went and settled among the English, where the profits were greater. Several of the French were lost upon immense lakes, frequently agitated with violent storms; among the cascades, which render navigation so dangerous up the broadest rivers in the whole world; under the weight of the canoes, the provisions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their shoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or shallowness of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and pursue their

journey by land. Numbers perished in the snow and on the ice, by hunger, or by the sword of the enemy. Those who returned to the colony with a profit of six or seven hundred *per cent.* were not always the more useful members, as they gave themselves up to the greatest excesses, and by their example disgusted others from assiduous labours. Their fortunes disappeared as quickly as they had been amassed, like those moving mountains which a whirlwind raises and destroys at once on the sandy plains of Africa. Most of these travelling traders, spent with the excessive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiousness of a wandering and dissolute life, dragged on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took notice of these irregularities, and put the fur-trade upon a better footing.

France had for a long time been incessantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought necessary for her preservation and aggrandizement in North America. Those they had built to the west and south of the river St Lawrence, were large and strong, and were intended to confine the ambition of the English. Those which were constructed on the several lakes in the most important positions, formed a chain which extended northward to the distance of a thousand leagues from Quebec ;
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but they were only miserable palisades, intended to keep the Indians in awe, and to secure their alliance and the produce of their chase. There was a garrison in each, more or less numerous according to the importance of the post and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intrust the commandant of each of these forts with the exclusive right of buying and selling in the whole district under his dominion. This privilege was purchased; but as it was always productive of profit, and sometimes of a considerable fortune, it was granted to none but such officers as were most in favour. If any of these had not a stock sufficient for the undertaking, he could easily get some monied men to join with him. It was pretended, that this system, far from being contrary to the benefit of the service, was a means of promoting it; as it obliged the gentlemen of the army to keep up more constant connections with the natives, to watch their motions, and to neglect nothing that could secure their friendship. Nobody foresaw, or chose to foresee, that this could not fail of stifling every sentiment but that of self-interest, and would be a source of perpetual oppression.

This tyranny, which soon became universal, was severely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of those

three forts, abusing their privilege, set so low a value upon the goods that were brought them, and rated their own so high, that by degrees the Indians would not stop there. They went in vast numbers to Chouaguen, on the lake Ontario, where the English dealt with them upon more advantageous terms. These new connections were represented as alarming to the court of France, who found means to weaken them by taking the trade of these three posts into her own hands, and treating the Indians still better than they were treated by the rival nation.

The consequence was, that the king acquired the sole possession of all the refuse of the furs; and got the skins of all the beasts that were killed in the summer and autumn, the most ordinary, the thinnest, and most easily spoiled, were reserved for the king. All these damaged furs, unfairly bought, and carelessly heaped up in warehouses, were eaten up by the moths. At the proper season for sending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the discretion of soldiers, passengers, and watermen, who, as they had no concern in those goods, did not take the least care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were sold for half of the little they were worth. Thus the returns were rather less than the sums advanced by
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the government for this losing trade.

But though this trade was of no value to the king, it may yet be doubted whether it brought any profit to the Indians, though gold and silver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs, saws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fish-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, coarse woollen stuffs, the first tokens or bands of sociability. But we sold them articles likewise that would have proved prejudicial to them even as a gift or a present, such as guns, powder and shot, tobacco, and especially brandy.

This liquor, the most fatal present the old world ever made to the new, was no sooner known to the savages, than they grew passionately fond of it. It was equally impossible for them to abstain from it, or to use it with moderation. It was soon observed that this liquor disturbed their domestic peace, deprived them of their judgment, made them furious; that it occasioned husbands, wives, children, brothers and sisters, to abuse and quarrel with one another. In vain did some sober Frenchmen expostulate with them, and endeavour to shame them out of these excesses. "It is you (answered they) who have taught us to drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without it. If you refuse to give it to us, we will go and get it of the English.

“ It is you have done the mischief, and it
 “ cannot be repaired.”

The court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with respect to the disorders occasioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authorised it, according to the light in which it was represented to the ministry. In the midst of these variations, the interest of the merchants was seldom at a stand. The sale of brandy was at all times nearly the same. Rational men considered it, however, as the principal cause of the diminution of the human race, and consequently of the skins of beasts, which became every day more and more evident.

CHAP. V.

State of CANADA at the peace of UTRECHT.

AT the peace of Utrecht, this vast country was in a state of weakness and misery not to be conceived. This was owing to the French who came there first, and who rather threw themselves into this country than settled upon it. Most of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more reasonable among had attempted some cultures, but without choice or plan.

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A piece of ground, hastily tilled and built upon, was as hastily forsaken. However, the expences the government was at, together with the profits of the fur-trade, at times afforded the inhabitants a comfortable subsistence; but a series of unfortunate wars soon deprived them of these enjoyments. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed 13,125*l*. This sum, added to 15,312*l*. 10*s*. which the government sent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And indeed these were so few, that most people were reduced to wear skins like the Indians. Such was the deplorable situation of the far greater part of twenty thousand French inhabitants, who were supposed to be in these immense regions.

CH A P. VI.

Population, agriculture, manners, government, fisheries, industry, and revenues of CANADA.

BUT the happy spirit which at that time animated the several parts of the world, roused Canada from the languid state in which it had been so long plunged. It appears from the estimates taken in 1753 and 1758,

1758, which were nearly equal, that the population amounted to 91,000 souls, exclusive of the regular troops, whose numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony.

This calculation did not include the many allies dispersed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of considerable breadth; nor yet the 16,000 Indians who dwelt in the centre of the French settlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of these were ever considered as subjects, tho' they lived in the midst of a great European colony: the smallest clans still preserved their independence. All men talk of liberty, but the savage alone enjoys it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual, is truly free. The consciousness of his independence operates upon all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Asiatic monarch just as he would come into a peasant's cottage, and neither be dazzled by his splendor nor awed by his power. It is his own species, it is mankind, it is his equal, that he loves and respects; but he would hate a master, and destroy him.

Part of the French colony was centured in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1500 leagues distant from France, and 120 leagues from the sea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninsula made by the

the river St Lawrence and the river St Charles; and commands a prospect over extensive fields which serve to enrich it, and a very safe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ships. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better security than the fortifications erected on the ramparts that cut the peninsula. The houses are tolerably well constructed. The inhabitants were computed at about 10,000 souls at the beginning of the year 1759. It was the centre of commerce, and the seat of government.

The city of the Trois Rivieres, built ten years later than Quebec, and situated thirty leagues higher, was raised with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this settlement, though brilliant at first, never attained to more than 1500 inhabitants, because the fur-trade was soon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

Montreal is an island, ten leagues long and four broad almost, formed by the river St Lawrence, sixty leagues above Quebec. Of all the adjacent country, this is the mildest, the most pleasant, and the most fruitful spot. A few scattered huts, erected by chance in 1640, advanced to a regular built town, which contained four thousand inhabitants.

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At first it lay exposed to the insults of the savages ; but was afterwards enclosed with slight palisades, and then with a wall, about fifteen feet high, topped with battlements. It fell to decay when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country to secure the fur-trade.

The other colonists, who were not comprised within the walls of these three cities, did not live in towns, but were scattered along the banks of the river St Lawrence. None were to be seen near the mouth of that river, where the soil is rugged and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The first habitations to the south began fifty leagues, and to the north twenty leagues, below Quebec ; they were thinly scattered, and their produce was but indifferent. The truly fertile fields began only near the capital, and they grew better as one drew nearer to Montreal. Nothing can be more beautiful to the eye than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Woods scattered here and there which decorated the tops of the grassy mountains, meadows covered with flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, small streams of water flowing down to the river, churches and castles seen at intervals through the trees, exhibited a succession of the most enchanting prospects. These would have been still more de-

delightful, if the edict of 1745 had been observed, which forbade the colonist from dividing his plantations, unless they were an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty acres in depth. Indolent heirs would not then have torn in pieces the inheritance of their fathers. They would have been compelled to form new plantations; and vast spaces of fallow land would no longer have separated rich and cultivated plains.

Nature herself directed the labours of the husbandman, and taught him to avoid watery and sandy grounds, and all those where the pine, the fir-tree, and the cedar, grew solitary; but wherever he found a soil covered with maple, oak, beach, horn-beam, and small cherry trees, there he might reasonably expect an increase of twenty to one in his wheat, and thirty to one in Indian corn, without the trouble of manuring.

All the plantations, though of different extents, were sufficient for the wants of their respective owners. There were few of them did not yield maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulse, and pot-herbs, in great plenty, excellent in their kind.

Most of the inhabitants had a score of sheep whose wool was very valuable to them, ten or a dozen milch-cows, and five or six oxen for the plough. The cattle was small, but their flesh was excellent, and these people lived
much

much better than our country people do in Europe.

With this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a good number of horses. They were not fine, indeed; but able to go through a great deal of hard work, and to run a prodigious way upon the snow. They were so fond of multiplying them in the colony, that in winter-time they would lavish on them the corn that they themselves regretted at another season.

Such was the situation of the 83,000 French dispersed or collected on the banks of the river St Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the Upper Country, there were 8000 more, who were more addicted to hunting and trade than to husbandry.

Their first settlement was Catarakui, or fort Frontenac, built in 1671, at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to stop the inroads of the English and Iroquois. The bay of this place served as a harbour for the men of war and trading vessels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a sea, and where storms are almost as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

Between the lakes Ontario and Erie, which both measure 300 leagues in circumference, lies a continent of fourteen leagues. This land is intersected towards the middle by the
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famous fall of Niagara, which from its height, breadth, and shape, and from the quantity and impetuosity of its waters, is justly accounted the most wonderful cataract in the world. It was above this grand and awful water-fall, that France had erected fortifications, with a design to prevent the Indians, from carrying their furs to the rival nation.

Beyond the lake Erie is an extent of land, distinguished by the name of the Strait, which exceeds all Canada for the mildness of the climate, the beauty and variety of the prospects, the richness of the soil, and the profusion of game and fish. Nature has lavished all her sweets to enrich this delightful spot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to settle there in the beginning of the present century. It was the vicinity of several Indian nations who could supply them abundantly with furs; and, indeed, this trade increased with considerable rapidity.

The success of this new settlement proved fatal to the post of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greatest part of the trade which used to be carried on there with the natives, went over to the Strait; and there it fixed.

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Besides the forts already mentioned, there are some of lesser note, in different parts of the country, constructed upon rivers, or at the openings between the mountains. The first sentiment interest inspires is that of mistrust, and its first impulse is that of attack or defence. Each of these forts was manned with a garrison, which defended the French who were settled in the neighbourhood. All together made up 8000 souls, who inhabited the upper country.

The manners of the French colonists settled in Canada were not always answerable to the climate they inhabited. Those that lived in the country spent their winter in idleness, gravely sitting by their fire-side. When the return of spring called them out to the indispensable labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then sank again into their former indolence till harvest-time. The people were too proud or too lazy to work for hire, so that every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be seen of that sprightly joy, which on a fine summer's day enlivens the reapers, whilst they are gathering in their rich harvests. Those of the Canadians never went beyond a small parcel of corn of each kind, a little hay and tobacco, a few cyder-apples, cabbages, and onions.

This was the whole produce of a plantation in that country.

This amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. The excessive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, in a manner locked up and benumbed the faculties of men. They contracted such a habit of idleness during the continuance of the severe weather for eight months successively, that labour appeared an intolerable hardship even in the finest weather. The numerous festivals of their religion were another hindrance to their industry. Men are ready enough to practise that kind of devotion which exempts them from labour. Lastly, their passion for arms, which had been purposely encouraged amongst these courageous and daring men, made them averse from the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely absorbed in military glory, that they were fond of nothing but war, though they engaged in it without pay.

The inhabitants of the cities, especially of the capital, lived, both in winter and summer, in a constant round of dissipation. They were alike insensible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleasures of imagination; they had no taste for arts or sciences, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement, and persons of all ages were fond of dancing at assemblies. This way of

life considerably increased the influence of the ladies; who were possessed of every attraction, except those soft emotions of the soul, which alone constitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, coquettes, and addicted to gallantry, they were more gratified with inspiring than feeling the tender passion. In both sexes might be observed a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher sense of honour than of real honesty. Superstition took place of morality, as it does wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

Idleness, - prejudice, and levity, would never have taken such an ascendant in Canada, had the government been careful to employ the minds of the people upon solid and profitable objects. But all the colonists were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the slow and sure process of the laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to submit to without examination. Delays, representations, excuses of honour, were so many crimes in the eyes of a despotic ruler, who had usurped a power of punishing or absolving

ving by his bare word. He held in his own hands all favours and penalties, rewards and punishments; the right of imprisoning without the shadow of a crime, and the still more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees as so many acts of justice, tho' they were but the irregular sallies of his own caprice.

In early times, this unlimited power was not confined to matters relative to military discipline and political administration, but was extended even to civil jurisdiction. The governor decided arbitrarily and without appeal upon all differences arising between the colonists. Fortunately these contests were very rare, in a country where all things were almost, as it were, in common. This dangerous authority subsisted till 1663, at which period a tribunal was erected in the capital, for the definitive trial of all causes depending throughout the colony. The custom of Paris, modified suitably to local combinations, formed the code of their laws.

This code was not mutilated or disfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The administration of the finances in Canada only took up a few fines of alienation; a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards keeping up the fortifications; and some duties upon all goods imported and exported, which, indeed, were

too high. In 1747, all these several articles brought no more than 11,383*l.* 15*s.* into the treasury.

The lands were not taxed by the government, nor did they enjoy an entire exemption. A great mistake was made at the first settling of the colony, in granting to officers and gentlemen a piece of land, from two to four leagues in front, and unlimited in depth. These great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were unable to manage such vast estates, and were therefore under a necessity of making over their lands to soldiers or planters upon condition they should pay them a kind of ground-rent or homage for ever. This was introducing into America something very like the feudal government, which was so long fatal to Europe. The lord ceded ninety acres to each of his vassals, who on their part engaged to work in his mill, to pay him annually one or two shillings per acre, and a bushel and a half of corn for the entire grant. This tax, though but a small one, maintained a great number of idle people, at the expence of the only class with which a colony ought to have been peopled. The true inhabitants, the laborious men, found the burden of maintaining an annuitant nobility increased by the additional exactions of the clergy. In 1667, the tithes were imposed

posed. They were, indeed, reduced to a twenty-sixth part of the crops, notwithstanding the clamours of that rapacious body; but still this was an oppression, in a country where the clergy had a property allotted them, which was sufficient for their maintenance.

So many impediments thrown in the way of agriculture, disabled the colony to pay for the necessaries that came from the mother country. The French ministry were at last so fully convinced of this truth, that after having always obstinately opposed the establishment of manufactures in America, they thought it their interest even to promote them, in 1706. But these too tardy encouragements had very little effect; and the united industry of the colonists could never produce more than a few coarse linens, and some very bad woollen stuffs.

The fisheries were not much more inviting than the manufactures. The only one that could be an object of exportation, was that of the SEAL. This animal has been ranked in the class of fish, though he is not dumb, is always born on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is somewhat like that of a mastiff. He has four paws, which are very short, especially the hinder ones, which serve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are sha-

ped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His skin is hard, and covered with short hair. He is born white, but turns sandy or black as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all the three colours.

There are two distinct sorts of seals. The larger sort will sometimes weigh no less than two thousand weight, and seem to have a sharper snout than the others. The small ones, whose skin is commonly marbled, are brisker, and more dexterous at extricating themselves out of the snares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them so far as to make them follow them.

It is upon the rocks that they couple, and that the dams lay their young, and sometimes upon the ice. They commonly bear two; and they frequently suckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to swim, it is said they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are strong enough to swim of themselves. Most little birds flutter about from spray to spray before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boisterous winds; it is not therefore surprising, that the seal, born

born on land, should exercise her little ones in living under water.

The manner of fishing for these amphibious animals is very simple. Their custom is, when they are out at sea, to enter into the creeks with the tide. As soon as some place is discovered where they resort in shoals, they surround it with nets and stakes, only taking care to leave a little opening for them to get in. At high water this opening is stopped up, and when the tide is gone down the prey remains on dry ground. There is nothing more to do but to knock them down. Sometimes the fishermen get into a canoe, and follow them to their lurking places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads out of the water to take in air. If they are only wounded, they are easily caught; if they are killed they sink directly, but are fetched up by great dogs that are trained up to dive for them seven or eight fathom under water.

The skin of the seal was formerly used for muffs; but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make shoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of morocco leather. If on the one hand it is not quite so fine, on the other it keeps longer.

The flesh of the seal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account if

it is boiled down to oil. For this purpose, it is sufficient to set it on the fire in a copper or earthen vessel. Frequently nothing more is done than to spread the fat upon large squares made of boards, where it melts of itself, and the oil runs off through an opening made for that purpose. It keeps clear for a long time, has no bad smell, and does not gather dross. It is used for burning and for dressing of leather.

Five or six small ships were fitted out yearly from Canada for the seal-fishery in the gulph of St Lawrence, and one or two less for the Caribbee islands. They received from the islands nine or ten vessels laden with rum, melasses, coffee, and sugar; and from France about thirty ships, whose lading together might amount to nine thousand tons.

In the interval between the two last wars, which was the most flourishing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 525,000*l.* in furs, 35,000*l.* in beaver, 10,937*l.* 10*s.* in seal oil, the same in flour and pease, and 6562*l.* 10*s.* in wood of all kinds. These several articles put together, amounted but to 115,937*l.* 10*s.* a year, a sum insufficient to pay for the commodities they drew from the mother country. The government made up the deficiency.

When the French were in possession of
Canada,

Canada, they had very little money. The little that was brought in from time to time by the new settlers did not stay long in the country, because the necessities of the colony sent it away again. This was a great obstacle to the progress of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Versailles coined a particular sort of money for the use of all the French settlements in America; and set a nominal value upon it, a fourth part above the value of the current coin of the mother country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at least with regard to New France. They therefore contrived to substitute paper currency to metal, for the payment of the troops and other expences of government. This succeeded till the year 1713, when they were no longer true to the engagements they had entered into with the administrators of the colony. The bills of exchange they drew upon the treasury of the mother country were not honoured, and from that time fell into discredit. They were at last paid off in 1720, but with the loss of five-eighths.

This event occasioned the use of money to be resumed in Canada; but this expedient lasted only two years. The merchants found it troublesome, chargeable, and hazardous, to send money to France, and so did all the colonies

colonies who had any remittances to make ; so that they were the first to solicit the re-establishment of paper currency. 'This money consisted of cards, on which was stamped the arms of France and Navarre; and they were signed by the governor, the intendant, and the comptroller. They were of 1*l.* 1*s.* 10*s.* 6*d.* 5*s.* 3*d.* 2*s.* 1½*d.* and of 1*s.* 3¼*d.* 7⁸*d.* 3¾*d.* value. 'The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed 43,750*l.* When this sum was not sufficient for the demands of the public, the deficiency was made up by orders signed only by the intendant. This was the first grievance ; but another and more scandalous abuse was, that their number was unlimited. The smallest were of 10½*d.* and the highest of 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* 'These different papers circulated about the colony, and supplied the want of money till the month of October. This was the latest season for the ships to sail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange payable in France by the government, which was supposed to have made use of the value. But they were so multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treasury could no longer answer such large demands, and was forced to protract the payment. An unfortunate war, that broke out two years after, so increased their number, that at last they were prohibited. This
presently

presently raised the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; and as, on account of the enormous expences of the war, the king was the great consumer, he alone bore the loss of the discarded paper, and of the dearness of the goods. In 1759, the ministry were obliged to stop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

The annual expences of government for Canada, which in 1729 did not exceed 17,500*l.* and before 1749 never went beyond 74,375*l.* were immense after that period. The year 1750 cost 91,875*l.* the year 1751, 118,125*l.* the year 1752, 178,937*l.* 10*s.* the year 1753, 231,875*l.* the year 1754, 194,687*l.* 10*s.* the year 1755, 266,875*l.* the year 1756, 494,375*l.* the year 1757, 842,187*l.* the year 1758, 1,220,625*l.* the year 1759, 1,137,500*l.* the first eight months of the year 1760, 590,625*l.* Of these prodigious sums, 3,500,000*l.* were owing at the peace.

This dishonest debt was traced up to its origin, and the enormities that had given rise to it were inquired into as far as the distance of time and place would allow. The greatest delinquents, who were become so in consequence of the unlimited power and credit given them by the government, were legally condemned to make considerable restitutions, but

but still too moderate. The claims of private creditors were all discussed. Fortunately for them and for the nation, the ministry intrusted with this important and necessary business, were none but men of known integrity, who were not to be intimidated by the threats of power, nor bribed by the offers of fortune; who could not be imposed upon by artifice, or wearied out by difficulties. By steadily and impartially holding an even balance between the interest of the public and the rights of individuals, they reduced the sum total of the debts to 1,662,000 l.

CHAP. VII.

Advantages which FRANCE might have derived from CANADA. Errors which have deprived her of them.

IT was the fault of France if Canada was not worth the immense sums that were bestowed upon it. It had long since appeared, that this vast region was every where capable of yielding prodigious crops; yet no more was cultivated than what was barely sufficient for the sustenance of the inhabitants. With moderate labour they might have raised corn enough to supply all the American islands, and even some parts of Europe. It is well known,

known, that in 1751 the colony sent over two ship-loads of wheat to Marseilles, which proved very good, and sold very well. This exportation ought to have been encouraged the more as the crops are liable to few accidents in that country, where the corn is sown in May, and gathered in before the end of August.

If husbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have been increased. They have so much pasture ground, and such plenty of acorns, that the colonies might easily have bred oxen and hogs, sufficient to supply the French islands with beef and pork, without having recourse to Irish beef. Possibly, they might in time have increased so much as to be able to victual the ships of the mother country.

Their sheep would have been no less advantageous to France. They were easily bred in Canada, where the dams commonly bear twins: and if they did not multiply faster, it was because the ewes were left with the ram at all seasons; because, as they mostly brought forth in February, the severity of the weather destroyed a great many lambs; and because they were obliged to feed them with corn, and the inhabitants found this so chargeable, that they did not much care to rear them. All this might have been prevented by a law, enjoining all farmers to part the
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ram from the ewes from September to February. The lambs dropped in May would have been reared without any expence or hazard, and in a short time the colony would have been covered with numerous flocks. Their wool, which is known to be very fine and good, would have supplied the manufactures of France, instead of that which they import from Andalusia and Castile. The state would have been enriched by this valuable commodity; and, in return, the colony would have received a thousand new and desirable articles from the mother country.

The Gin-seng would have been a great acquisition to both. This plant, which the Chinese procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720, by the Jesuit Lasi-tau, in the forests of Canada, where it grows very common. It was soon carried to Canton, where it was much esteemed, and sold at an extravagant price. The Gin-seng, which at first sold at Quebec for about 1s. 6d. a pound, immediately rose to 1l. 1s. 10½d. In 1752, the Canadians exported this plant to the value of 21,875l. There was such a demand for it, that they were induced to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what should have been dried gradually in a shade.

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This spoilt the sale of the *Gin-seng* of Canada in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the colonists were severely punished for their excessive rapaciousness, by the total loss of a branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed, might have proved a source of opulence.

Another and a surer source for the encouragement of industry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in those parts. The only one that has ever attracted the notice of the Europeans, lies near the town of the *Trois Rivières*. It was discovered near the surface of the ground; there are no mines that yield more, and the best in Spain are not superior to it for the pliability of the metal. A smith from Europe, who came thither in 1739, greatly improved the working of this mine, which till then had been but unskilfully managed. From that time no other iron was used in the colony. They even exported some samples; but France would not be convinced that this iron was the best for fire-arms. The design of using this iron would have been very favourable to the project which, after much irresolution, had at last been adopted, of forming a marine establishment in Canada.

The first Europeans who landed on that vast region, found it all over covered with forests. The principal trees were oaks of prodigious

digious height, and pines of all sizes. These woods could have been conveyed with ease down the river St Lawrence, and the numberless rivers that discharge into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all these treasures were overlooked or despised. At last the court of Versailles thought proper to attend to them. They gave orders for erecting docks at Quebec for building men of war; but unfortunately trusted the business to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private interest.

The timber should have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting its fibres; whereas it was constantly fetched from marshy grounds, and from the banks of the rivers, where the moisture gives it a looser texture, and makes it too rich. Instead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place of its destination; where being forgotten and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moss that rotted it. It ought to have been put under sheds when it was landed; but it was left exposed to the sun in summer, to the snow in winter, and to the rains in spring and autumn. From thence it was conveyed into the dock-yards, where it again sustained the inclemency of the seasons for two or three years. Negligence or dishonesty enhanced the price of every thing to such a degree, that they got
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their sails, ropes, pitch, and tar, from Europe, in a country, which, with a little industry, might have supplied the whole kingdom of France with all these materials. This bad management had totally brought the wood of Canada into disrepute, and effectually ruined the resources which that country afforded for the navy.

This colony furnished the manufactures of the mother country with a branch of industry that might almost be called an exclusive one, which was the preparation of the beaver. This commodity at first was subjected to the burden and restraints of monopoly. The India company could not but make an ill use of their privilege, and really did so. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in English scarlet cloths, which those people were very fond of appearing in. But as they could make twenty-five or thirty *per cent.* more of their commodities in the English settlements than the company chose to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the search of the company's agents, and exchanged their beaver for English cloth and India calico. Thus did France, by the abuse of an institution which she was by no means obliged to maintain, lose the double advantage of furnishing materials to some of her own manufactures, and of securing a market for the produce of some others. She was equal-

ly ignorant with regard to the facility of establishing a whale-fishery in Canada.

The chief sources of this fishery are Davis's straits and Greenland. Fifty ships come every year into the former of these latitudes, and a hundred and fifty into the latter. The Dutch are concerned for more than three fourths of them. The rest are fitted out from Bremen, Hamburgh, and Britain. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ships, of 350 tons burden upon an average, must amount to 437,500 *l*. The usual produce of each is rated at 3,500 *l*. and consequently the whole amount of the fishery cannot be less than 140,000 *l*. If we deduct from this the profits of the seamen who devote themselves to this hard and dangerous voyage, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

This is what first gradually disgusted the Biscayans, who were the first adventurers in the undertaking. They have not been succeeded by other Frenchmen, insomuch that the whole fishery has been totally thrown up by that nation, which of all others made the greatest consumption of blubber, whalebone, and spermaceti. Many proposals have been made for resuming it in Canada. There was the finest prospect of a plentiful fishery in the river St Lawrence, attended with less danger and less expence than at Davis's straits

straits or Greenland. It has ever been the fate of this colony, that the best schemes relative to it have not been brought to bear ; and this in particular of a whale-fishery, which would have singularly roused the activity of the colonists, and would have proved an excellent nursery for seamen, has never met with the countenance of the government.

The same remissness has baffled the scheme, so often planned, and two or three times attempted, of fishing for cod on both sides of the river St Lawrence. Very possibly the success would not have fully answered their expectation, because the fish is but indifferent, and proper beaches are wanting to dry it. But the gulph would have made ample amends. It abounds with cod, which might have been carried to Newfoundland or Louisbourg, and advantageously bartered for productions of the Caribbee islands and European commodities. Every thing conspired to promote the prosperity of the settlements in Canada, if they had been seconded by the men who seemed to be the most interested in them. But whence could proceed that inconceivable inaction, which suffered them to languish in the same low condition they were in at first ?

It must be confessed, some obstacles arose from the very nature of the climate. The river St Lawrence is frozen up for six months in the year. At other times it is not navi-

gable by night, on account of the thick fogs, rapid currents, sand-banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. These difficulties increase from Quebec to Montreal, to such a degree, that sailing is quite impracticable, and rowing so difficult, that from the Trois Rivières, where the tide ends, the oars cannot resist the violence of the current, without the assistance of a very fair wind, and then only in the space of a month or six weeks. From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, travellers meet with no less than six water-falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to carry them and their lading a considerable way by land.

Far from encouraging man to get the better of nature, a misinformed government planned none but ruinous schemes. To gain the advantage over the English in the fur-trade, they erected three and thirty forts, at a great distance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engrossed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous track.

It was not without some uneasiness that the Indians saw the beginnings of these settlements, which might endanger their liberty. Their suspicions induced them to take
up

up arms, so that the colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made all the Canadians soldiers. Their manly and military education made them hardy, and fearless of danger. Just emerging from childhood, they would traverse a vast continent in the summer time in canoes, and in winter on foot through ice and snow. As they had nothing but their gun to procure subsistence with, they were in continual danger of starving; but they were under no apprehensions of fear, not even of falling into the hands of the savages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, far worse than death.

The sedentary arts of peace, and the steady labours of agriculture, had no attraction for men accustomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which forms no idea of the sweets or the utility of rural life, increased the aversion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by bestowing all their favours and honours upon military actions alone. The distinction that was mostly lavished was that of nobility, which was attended with the most fatal consequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleness, but also inspired them with an unsurmountable turn for every thing that was splendid. Profits, which ought to have been kept sacred for the improvement of the lands, were

laid out in ornament, and a real property was concealed under the trappings of destructive luxury.

CHAP. VIII.

Origin of the wars between the BRITISH and the FRENCH in CANADA.

SUCH was the state of the colony in 1747, when La Galiffoniere was appointed governor. He was an able, resolute, and active man; a man of great steadiness, because he acted upon sound principles. The British wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the south side of the river St Lawrence. He thought this an unjust claim, and was determined to confine them within the peninsula, which he apprehended to be the limits settled by treaty. Their ambition of encroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio or Fair River, he likewise thought unreasonable. He was of opinion, that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the boundary of their possessions, and was fully determined they should not pass them. His successor, who was appointed whilst he was collecting the means of accomplishing this vast design, entered into his views with all the warmth they deserved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected

erected on all sides, to support the system which the court had adopted, perhaps, without foreseeing, or perhaps without sufficiently attending to, the consequences.

At this period began those hostilities between the British and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the respective mother countries. This clandestine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the ministry at Versailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without exposing their weakness, what they had lost by treaties, at a time when the enemy had imposed their own terms. These repeated checks at last opened the eyes of Great Britain, and disclosed the political system of her rival. George^{II.} thought an equivocal situation was inconsistent with the superiority of his maritime forces. His flag was ordered to insult the French flag on every sea. The English accordingly took or dispersed all the French ships they met with, and in 1758 steered towards Cape Breton.

CHAP. IX.

Conquest of CAPE BRETON by the BRITISH.

THIS island, the key of Canada, already
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had been attacked in 1745; and the event is of so singular a nature, that it deserves a particular detail. The plan of this first invasion was laid at Boston, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had stirred up, encouraged, and directed the enthusiasm of the colony, was intrusted with the command of an army of 6000 men, who had been levied for this expedition.

Though these forces, convoyed by a squadron from Jamaica, brought the first news to Cape Breton of the danger that threatened them; though the advantage of a surprise would have secured their landing without opposition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants hastily armed; the success of the undertaking was still precarious. What great exploits, indeed, could be expected from a raw militia, hastily assembled, who had never seen a siege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the guidance of sea-officers only. These unexperienced troops stood in need of the assistance of some fortunate incident, which they were indeed favoured with in a singular manner.

The construction and repairs of the fortifications had at all times been left to the management of the garrison of Louisbourg. The soldiers were eager of being employed
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in these works, which they considered as conducive to their safety, and as a means of procuring a comfortable subsistence. When they found that those who were to have paid them appropriated the fruit of their labours to their own use, they demanded justice. It was denied them, and they determined to maintain their right. As these depredations had been shared between the chief persons of the colony and the subaltern officers, the soldiers could obtain no redress. Their indignation against these rapacious extortioners rose to such a height, that they despised all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for six months past, when the English appeared before the place.

This was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cause. The soldiers made the first advances ; but their commanders mistrusted a generosity of which they themselves were incapable. If these mean oppressors could have conceived it possible that the soldiery could have entertained such elevated notions as to sacrifice their own resentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this disposition, and have fallen upon the enemy whilst they were forming their camp and beginning to open their trenches. Besiegers, unacquainted with any military principle, would have been disconcerted

certed by regular and vigorous attacks. The first checks might have been sufficient to discourage them, and to make them relinquish the undertaking. But it was firmly believed, that the soldiers were desirous of sallying out, only that they might have an opportunity of deserting; and their own officers kept them in a manner prisoners, till a defence so ill-managed had reduced them to the necessity of capitulating. The whole island shared the fate of Louisbourg, its only bulwark.

This valuable possession, restored to France by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was again attacked by the English in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying 16,000 veterans, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louisbourg. As it was evident that it would be to no purpose to land at a greater distance, because it would be impossible to bring up the artillery and other necessaries for a siege, they had bent their whole attention to make the landing impracticable near the town. In the wise precautions that had been taken, the besiegers saw the dangers and difficulties they had to expect, and were not deterred by them, but had recourse to stratagem; and while, by extending their line, they threatened and covered the whole coast, they landed by force of arms at the creek of Cormoran.

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This place was weak by nature. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart, they had posted 2000 excellent soldiers, and some Indians. In front, they had made such a close hedge with branches of trees, as would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of palisade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a distance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

This would have preserved the colony, had the assailants been suffered to complete their landing, and to advance with confidence as having but few obstacles to surmount. Then, overpowered at once by the fire of the artillery and the small arms, they would infallibly have perished on the shore, or in the hurry of embarking; the more, as the sea was just then very rough. This unexpected loss might have defeated the whole project.

But all the precautions of prudence were rendered abortive by the impetuosity of the French. The British had scarce begun to move towards the shore, when their enemies hastened to discover the snare that was laid for them. By the brisk and hasty fire that was aimed at their boats, and still more by the premature removal of the boughs that masked the forces, which it was so much the interest

interest of the French to conceal, they guessed at the danger they were going to rush into. They immediately turned back, and saw no other place to effect their landing but a rock, which had been always deemed inaccessible. General Wolf, though much taken up in re-imbarking his troops, and sending off the boats, beckoned to Major Scot to repair thither.

This officer immediately removed to the spot with his men. His own boat coming up first, and having sunk at the very instant he was stepping out, he climbed up the rock alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men who had been sent thither some hours before. He found only ten. With these few, however, he gained the summit of the rock. Ten Indians and sixty Frenchmen killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three. In spite of his weakness, he stood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardless of the boisterous waves and fire of the cannon, came up to him, and put him in full possession of that important post, the only one that could secure their landing.

The French, as soon as they saw that the enemy had got a firm footing on land, betook themselves to the only remaining refuge, and shut themselves up in Louisbourg. The fortifications were in a bad condition, because
the

the sea-sand, which they had been obliged to use, is by no means fit for works of masonry. The revetments of the several curtains were entirely crumbled away. There was only one casemate and a small magazine that were bomb proof. The garrison which was to defend the place consisted only of 2,900 men.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the besieged were determined to make an obstinate resistance. While they were employed in defending themselves with so much firmness, the succours they expected from Canada might possibly arrive. At all events, this was a means of preserving that great colony from all further invasion for the remainder of the campaign. It is scarce credible that this degree of resolution was supported by the courage of a woman. Madam de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purse in her hand; and firing, herself, three guns every day, seemed to dispute with the governor her husband the glory of his office. The besieged were not dismayed at the ill success of their several sallies, or the masterly operations concerted by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst. It was but at the eve of an assault, which it was impossible to sustain, that they talked of surrendering. They made an honourable capitulation; and the conqueror shewed more respect for his enemy

my and for himself, than to sully his glory by any act of barbarity or avarice.

CH A P. X.

The BRITISH attack CANADA.

THE conquest of Cape Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the seat of war was moved thither, or rather the scenes of bloodshed which had long been acted over that immense country were multiplied. The cause of these proceedings was this :

The French, settled in those parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the finest furs were to be had, and in the greatest plenty. When this vein of wealth was exhausted, or yielded less than it did at first, their trade turned southward, where they discovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair River. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louisiana. For though the ships that sail up the river St Lawrence go no further than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges up to lake Ontario, which is parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the French very early built Fort Niagara. It is on this spot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the source of the
river

river Ohio is found, which waters the finest country in the world, and, increasing by the many rivers that fall into it, conveys its waters into the Mississippi.

Yet the French made no use of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourse that subsisted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much shorter and easier than the old, first began to be frequented by a body of troops that were sent over to Canada in 1739, to assist the colony of Louisiana, which was in open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the southern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period several small forts were erected along the Ohio, the course of which had been traced for four years past. The most considerable of these forts took its name from governor Duquesne, who had built it.

The British colonies could not see without concern French settlements raised behind them, which joined with the old ones, and seemed to surround them. They were apprehensive lest the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, should not prove a sufficient barrier against the attempts of a restless and warlike neighbour. Prompted by this mistrust, they themselves passed these
famous

famous mountains, to dispute the possession of the Ohio with the rival nation. This first step proved unsuccessful. The several parties that were successively sent out were routed; and the forts were pulled down as fast as they built them.

To put an end to these national affronts, and revenge the disgrace they reflected on the mother country, a large body of troops was sent over under the command of General Braddock. In the summer of 1755, as this general was proceeding to attack fort Duquesne with 36 pieces of cannon and 600 men, he was surprised within four leagues of the place by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians, and all his army was cut to pieces. This unaccountable mischance put a stop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occasioned by this accident made them hasten back to their quarters, and in the next campaign all their motions were guided by the most timorous caution.

The French were emboldened by this perplexity; and, though very much inferior to them, ventured to appear before Oswego in August 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It stood nearly in the centre of Canada, in so advantageous a situation, that many works had from time to

time been erected there, which had rendered it one of the capital posts in those parts. It was guarded by 1800 men, with 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of stores of all kinds. Though so well supported, it surrendered in a few days to the brisk and bold attacks of 3000 men who were laying siege to it.

In August 1757, 5500 French and 1800 Indians marched up to Fort George, situated on lake Sacrament, which was justly considered as the bulwark of the English settlements, and the rendezvous of all the forces destined against Canada. Nature and art had conspired to block up the roads leading to that place, and to make all access impracticable. These advantages were further supported by several bodies of troops placed at proper distances in the best positions. Yet these obstacles were surmounted with such prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in history, had the scene of action lain in a more known spot. The French, after killing or dispersing all the small parties they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garrison, consisting of 2264 men, to capitulate.

This fresh disaster roused the British. Their generals applied themselves during the winter season to the training up of their men, and bringing the several troops under

a proper discipline. They made them exercise in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the spring, the army, consisting of 6300 regulars and 13,000 militia belonging to the colonies, assembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations; and marched up to Carillon, distant but four leagues.

That fort, which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, was not extensive enough to withstand the forces that were marching against it. They therefore quickly formed intrenchments under the cannon of the fort, with stems of trees heaped up one upon another; and in front they laid large trees, and the branches being cut and sharpened answered the purpose of chevaux de frise. The colours were planted on the top of ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

The English were not dismayed at these formidable appearances, being fully determined to remove the disgrace of their former miscarriages in a country where the prosperity of their trade depended on the success of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they rushed upon these palisades with the wildest fury. In vain did the French fire upon them from the top of the parapet, whilst they were unable to defend themselves.

selves. They fell upon the sharp spikes, and were entangled among the stumps and boughs through which their eagerness had made them rush. All these losses served but to increase their furious violence. It continued for upwards of four hours, and cost them above 4000 of their brave men before they would give up this rash and desperate undertaking.

They were equally unsuccessful in lesser actions. They did not insult one post without meeting with a repulse. Every party they sent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The depth of winter, which ought to have been their protection, was the very season in which the Indians and Canadians carried fire and sword to the frontiers and into the very heart of the English colonies.

All these disasters were owing to a false principle of government. The British ministry had always entertained a notion that the superiority of their navy was alone sufficient to assert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for succours, and could easily intercept the enemy's forces.

Though experience had shewn the fallacy of these notions, the ministry did not even endeavour to diminish the ill effects of them by the choice of their generals. Al-

most all those who were employed in this service were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

The armies were not such as would make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops indeed were not wanting in that daring spirit and invincible courage which is the characteristic of the British soldiers, arising from the climate, and still more from the nature of their government; but these national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguished by the hardships they underwent, in a country destitute of all the conveniences that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was made up of peaceable husbandmen, who were not inured to slaughter, like most of the French colonists, by a habit of hunting and by military ardor.

To these disadvantages, arising from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to misconduct. The posts erected for the safety of the several English settlements, were not so contrived as to support and assist each other. The provinces having all separate interests, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in those joint efforts for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of sentiments which alone can insure the success of their measures. The season of action was wasted
in

in vain altercations between the governors and the colonists. Every plan of operation that met with opposition from any assembly was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, it was certainly made public before the execution; and by thus divulging it, they made it miscarry. Lastly, they were in irreconcilable enmity with the Indians.

These nations had always shewn a visible partiality for the French, in return for the kindness they had shewn them in sending missionaries, whom they considered rather as ambassadors from the prince than as sent from God. These missionaries, by studying the language of the savages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an absolute dominion over their minds. The French colonists, far from communicating the European manners, had adopted those of the country they lived in; their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their constant fondness for a wandering life.

Their strong attachment to the French was productive of the most inveterate hatred against the English. In their opinion, of all the European savages these were the hardest to tame. Their aversion soon rose to madness; and to a thirst for English blood, when they found that a reward was offered for their

destruction, and that they were to be turned out of their native land by foreign assassins. The same hands which had enriched the English colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet to destroy it. The Indians pursued the English with as much eagerness as they did the wild beasts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was slaughter. They destroyed armies which the French wished only to subdue. Their fury rose to such a height, that an English prisoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A missionary Jesuit reproaching her with the atrociousness of the action, she answered him, *My children must be warriors, and therefore they must be fed with the blood of their enemies.*

CH A P. XI.

Taking of QUEBEC by the BRITISH.

SUCH was the state of things, when an English fleet entered the river St Lawrence in June 1759. No sooner was it anchored at the isle of Orleans, than eight fire-ships were sent off to consume it. Had they executed their orders, not a ship or a man would have escaped; but the captains who conducted

ted the operation were seized with a panic. They set fire to their vessels too soon, and hurried back to land in their boats. The assailants had seen their danger at a distance, but were delivered from it by this accident, and from that moment the conquest of Canada was almost certain.

The British flag soon appeared before Quebec. The business was to land there, and to get a firm footing in the neighbourhood of the town in order to lay siege to it. But they found the banks of the river so well intrenched, and so well defended by troops and redoubts, that their first attempts were fruitless. Every landing cost them torrents of blood, without gaining any ground. They had persisted for six weeks in these unsuccessful endeavours, when at last they had the singular good fortune to land unperceived. It was on the 12th of September, an hour before break of day, three miles above the town. Their army, consisting of 6000 men, was already drawn up in order of battle, when it was attacked the next day by a corps that was weaker by one third. For some time ardour supplied the want of numbers. At last, French vivacity gave up the victory to the enemy, who had lost the intrepid Wolfe their general, but did not lose their confidence and resolution.

This was gaining a considerable advantage,

but it might not have been decisive. Twelve hours would have been sufficient to collect the troops that were posted within a few leagues of the field of battle, to join the vanquished army, and march up to the conqueror with a force superior to the former. This was the opinion of the French general Montcalm, who, being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time enough, before he expired, to think of the safety of his men, and to encourage them to repair their disaster. This generous motion was over-ruled by the council of war. They removed ten leagues off. The Chevalier de Levy, who had hastened from his post to replace Montcalm, blamed this instance of cowardice. They were ashamed of it, and wanted to recall it, and make another attempt for victory; but it was too late. Quebec, three parts destroyed by the firing from the ships, had capitulated on the 17th.

All Europe thought the taking of this place had put an end to the great contest of North America. They never imagined that a handful of Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who seemed to be in a desperate condition, would dare to think of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not know what these people were capable of doing. They hastily completed some entrenchments that had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There they left

left troops sufficient to stop the progress of the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to concert measures to cancel their disgrace.

It was there agreed, that in the spring they should march out with an armed force against Quebec, to retake it by surprise; or if that should fail, to besiege it in form. They had nothing in readiness for that purpose; but the plan was so concerted, that they should enter upon the undertaking just at the instant when the succours they expected from France could not fail of coming.

Though the colony had long been in dreadful want of every thing, the preparatives were already made, when the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened a small canal. They dragged some boats over the ice, and slipped them into the water. The army, consisting of citizens and soldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one soul, fell down this stream, with inconceivable ardour, on the 12th of April 1760. The British thought they still lay quiet in their winter-quarters. The army, already landed, was just come up with an advanced guard of 1500 men, posted three leagues from Quebec. This party was just upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of those unaccountable incidents which no human prudence can foresee.

A gunner, attempting to step out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and swam down the stream. As he passed by Quebec, close to the shore, he was seen by a centinel; who, observing a man in distress, called out for help. They flew to his assistance, and found him motionless. They knew him by his uniform to be a French soldier, and carried him to the governor's house, where by the help of spirituous liquors they recalled him to life for a moment. He just recovered his speech enough to tell them that an army of 10,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately dispatched orders to the advanced guard to come within the walls with all expedition. Notwithstanding their precipitate retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few moments later, they would have been defeated, and the city retaken.

The assailants, however, marched on with an intrepidity which seemed as if they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a surprise. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body of 4000 men, who were sent out to stop them. The onset was sharp, and the resistance obstinate. The English were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their bravest men upon the spot, and their

their artillery in the enemy's hands.

The trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as they had none but field-pieces, as no succours came from France, and as a strong English squadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raise the siege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from post to post, as far as Montreal. Three formidable armies, one of which was come down, and another up the river, and a third proceeded over the lake Champlain, surrounded these troops, which were not very numerous at first, were now exceedingly reduced by frequent skirmishes and continual fatigues, and were in want both of provisions and warlike stores. These miserable remains of a body of 7000 men, who had never been recruited, and had so much signalized themselves, with the help of a few militia and a few Indians, were at last forced to capitulate, and for the whole colony. The conquest was confirmed by the treaty of peace, and this country increased the possessions of the British in North-America.

CH A P. XII.

CANADA is ceded to BRITAIN. What advantages she might derive from that possession.

THE acquisition of an immense territory

tory is not the only advantage accruing to Great Britain from the success of her arms. The considerable population she has found there is of still greater importance. Some of these numerous inhabitants, it is true, have fled from a new dominion, which admitted no other difference among men but such as arose from personal qualities, education, fortune, or the property of being useful to society. But the emigration of these contemptible persons, whose importance was founded on nothing but barbarous custom, cannot surely have been considered as a misfortune. Would not the colony have been much benefited by getting rid of that indolent nobility that had encumbered it so long, of that proud nobility that kept up the contempt for all kinds of labour? The only things necessary to make the colony prosper, are, that its lands should be cleared, its forests cut down, its iron mines worked, its fisheries extended, its industry and exportations improved.

The province of Canada has been convinced of this truth. And indeed, notwithstanding the ties of blood, language, religion, and government, which are usually so strong; notwithstanding that variety of connections and prejudices which assume so powerful an ascendant over the minds of men; the Canadians have not shewn much con-

concern at the violent separation by which they were detached from their ancient country. They have readily concurred in the means employed by the English ministry to establish their happiness and liberty upon a solid foundation.

The laws of the English admiralty were first given them. But this innovation was scarcely perceived by them; because it scarce concerned any except the conquerors, who were in possession of all the maritime trade of the colony.

They have paid more attention to the establishment of the criminal laws of England, which was one of the most happy circumstances Canada could experience. To the impenetrable mysterious transactions of a cruel inquisition, succeeded a cool, rational, and public trial; a tribunal dreadful and accustomed to shed blood was replaced by humane judges, more disposed to acknowledge innocence than to suppose criminality.

The conquered people have been still more delighted on finding the liberty of their persons secured for ever by the famous law of Habeas Corpus. As they had too long been victims of the arbitrary wills of those who governed them, they have blessed the beneficent hand that drew them from a state of slavery, to put them under the protection of the laws.

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The attention of the British ministry was afterwards taken up in supplying Canada with a code of civil laws. This important work, though intrusted to able, industrious, and upright lawyers, hath not yet obtained the sanction of government. If the success answers the expectations, a colony will at last be found which will have a legislative system adapted to its climate, its population, and its labours.

Independent of these parental views, Great Britain has thought it her political interest to introduce, by secret springs, among her new subjects, an inclination for the customs, the language, the worship, and the opinions, of the mother country. This kind of analogy is, in fact, generally speaking, one of the strongest bands that can attach the colonies to the mother country. But we imagine that the present situation of things ought to have occasioned a preference to another system. Britain has at this time so much reason to be apprehensive of the spirit of independence which prevails in North America, that perhaps it would have been more for her advantage to maintain Canada in a kind of distinct state from the other provinces, rather than bring them nearer to each other by affinities which may one day unite them too closely.

However this may be, the British ministry
have

have given the English government to Canada, so far as it was consistent with an authority entirely regal, and without any mixture of a popular administration. Their new subjects, secure from the fear of future wars, eased of the burden of defending distant posts which removed them far from their habitations, and deprived of the fur-trade which has returned into its natural channel, have only to attend to their cultures. As these advance, their intercourse with Europe and with the Caribbee islands will increase, and soon become very considerable. It will for the future be the only resource of a vast country, into which France formerly poured immense sums, considering it as the chief bulwark of her southern islands.

B O O K IV.

GENERAL
REFLECTIONS AND REMARKS
ON ALL THE COLONIES.

I.

Extent of the BRITISH dominions in
NORTH AMERICA.

THE two Floridas, part of Louisiana, and all Canada, obtained at the same æra either by conquest or treaty, have rendered Britain mistress of all that space which extends from the river of St Lawrence to the Mississippi; so that, without reckoning Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and the other islands of North America, she is in possession of the most extensive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe. This vast territory is divided from north to south by a chain of high mountains, which, alternately receding from and approaching the coast, leave between them and the ocean a rich tract of land of an hundred and fifty,

two hundred, and sometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond these Apalachian mountains is an immense desert, into which some travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues without finding an end to it. It is supposed that the rivers at the extremity of these uncultivated regions have a communication with the South Sea. If this conjecture, which is not destitute of probability, should be confirmed by experience, Britain would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the new world. By her territories, extending from one American sea to the other, she may be said to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African settlements, she freights and sends out ships to the new world. From her maritime settlements in the East she would have a direct channel to the West Indies by the Pacific ocean. She would discover those slips of land or branches of the sea, the isthmus or the strait which lies between the northern extremities of Asia and America. By the vast extent of her colonies she would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would secure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the seas, she might aspire to the supremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the destiny of any single nation to attain to

such a pitch of greatness. Is then extent of dominion so flattering an object, when conquests are made only to be lost again? Let the Romans speak! Does it constitute power to possess such a share of the globe that some part shall always be enlightened by the rays of the sun, if while we reign in one world we are to languish in obscurity in the other? Let the Spaniards answer!

The English will be happy if they can preserve, by the means of culture and navigation, an empire which must ever be found too extensive when it cannot be maintained without bloodshed. But as this is the price which ambition must always pay for the success of its enterprizes, it is by commerce alone that conquests can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human industry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general is so low near the sea, that in many parts it is scarcely distinguishable from the top of the main mast, even after bringing in fourteen fathom, yet the coast is very easy of access, because the depth diminishes insensibly as you advance. From this circumstance it is easy to determine exactly by the line the distance of the main land. Besides this the mariner has another sign, which is the appearance of trees, that, seeming to arise
out

out of the sea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a shore which presents roads and harbours without number for the reception and preservation of shipping.

The productions of the earth arise in great abundance from a soil newly cleared; but in return they are a long time coming to maturity. Many plants are even so late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while, on our continent, both the fruit and the seed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What should be the cause of this phænomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fishery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the shade of these forests grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted this species of manure the summer came on; and nature, left entirely to herself, continued heaping incessantly upon each other these effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long course of time, became accustomed to a slow vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to subdue this habit fixed and confirm-

ed by ages, nor have the dispositions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate, so long unknown or neglected by mankind, presents them with advantages which supply the defects and ill consequences of that omission.

II.

TREES peculiar to NORTH AMERICA.

IT produces almost all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has also others peculiar to itself; among these are the sugar maple, and the candleberry myrtle. The candleberry myrtle is a shrub which delights in a moist soil; and is, therefore, seldom found at any distance from the sea. Its seeds are covered with a white powder, which looks like flour. When they are gathered towards the end of autumn, and put into boiling water, there rises a viscous body, which swims at the top, and is skimmed off. As soon as this is come to a consistence, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a second time; when it becomes transparent, and of an agreeable green.

This substance, which in quality and consistence is a medium between tallow and wax, supplied the place of both to the first Europeans that landed in this country. The dear-
ness

ness of it has occasioned it to be the less used, in proportion as the number of domestic animals hath increased. Nevertheless, as it burns slower than tallow, is less subject to melt, and has not that disagreeable smell, it is still preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. The property of giving light is, of all its uses, the least valuable. It serves to make excellent soap and plasters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpose of sealing letters. The sugar maple does not merit less attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

This tree, whose nature it is to flourish by the side of streams, or in marshy places, grows to the height of an oak. In the month of March, an incision of the depth of three or four inches is made in the lower part of the trunk. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice, that flows from it, is conveyed into a vessel placed to receive it. The young trees are so full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford less, but of a much better quality. No more than one incision or two at most can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes are applied, it soon dies.

The sap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to sugar, they evaporate it by fire, till it has acquired

the consistence of a thick syrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware or bark of the birch-tree. The syrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of sugar, almost transparent, and pleasant enough to the taste. To give it a whiteness, they sometimes mix up flour with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of sugar is used for the same purposes as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of sugar, so that it can be of no great use in trade.

III.

BIRDS peculiar to NORTH AMERICA.

AMIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the forests of North America, there is one extremely singular in its kind. This is the humming bird; a species of which, on account of its smallness, is called by the French *l'oiseau mouche*, or the fly-bird. Its beak is long, and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft, of incomparable beauty. Its breast is of a rose colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail, are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold.

The

The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it so delicate a cast, that it resembles a velvet flower, whose beauty fades on the slightest touch.

The spring is the only season for this charming bird. Its nest, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish moss, and on the inside lined with a very soft down gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, about the size of the smallest peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks, or a month at most.

The humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of the largest flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noise like that of a spinning-wheel. When it is tired, it lights upon the nearest tree or stake; rests a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithstanding its weakness, it does not appear timid; but will suffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

Who would imagine, that so diminutive an animal could be malicious, passionate, and quarrelsome? They are often seen fighting together with great fury and obstinacy. The

strokes they give with their beak are so sudden and so quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their wings move with such agility, that they seem not to move at all. They are more heard than seen; and their noise resembles that of a sparrow.

These little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation, with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stript of all their leaves by the fury of the fly-birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of resentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unnecessarily destructive instinct.

North America formerly was devoured by insects. As the air was not yet purified, nor the ground cleared, nor the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, these little animals destroyed without opposition all the productions of nature. None of them was useful to mankind. There is only one at present, which is the bee: but this is supposed to have been carried from the old to the new world. The savages call it, the *English fly*; and it is only found near the coasts. These circumstances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous swarms through

through the forests of the new world. They increase every day. Their honey is employed to several uses. Many persons make it their food. The wax becomes daily a more considerable branch of trade.

IV.

The ENGLISH supply NORTH AMERICA with domestic animals.

THE bee is not the only present which Europe has had in her power to make to America. She has enriched her also with a breed of domestic animals; for the savages had none. America had not yet associated beasts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither in their ships several of our species of domestic animals. They have multiplied there prodigiously; but all of them, excepting the hog, whose whole merit consists in fattening himself, have lost much of that strength and size which they enjoyed in those countries from whence they were brought. The oxen, horses, and sheep, have degenerated in the northern British colonies, though the particular kinds of each had been chosen with great precaution.

Without doubt, it is the climate, the nature of the air and the soil, which has prevented

vented the success of their transplantation. These animals, as well as the men, were at first attacked by epidemical disorders. If the contagion did not, as in the men, affect the principles of generation in them, several species of them at least were with much difficulty reproduced. Each generation fell short of the last ; and as it happens to American plants in Europe, European cattle continually degenerated in America. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable species, to grow and flourish in its native soil. The love of their own country seems an ordinance of nature prescribed to all beings, like the desire of preserving their existence.

V.

EUROPEAN Grain carried into NORTH AMERICA by the ENGLISH.

YET there are certain correspondences of climate which form exceptions to the general rule against transporting animals and plants. When the English first landed on the North American continent, the wandering inhabitants of those desolate regions had scarcely arrived at the cultivation of a small quantity of maize. This species of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only

only one known in the knew world. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The savages contented themselves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a stick, and throwing into each of them a single grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or stone mortar, and made it into a paste, which they baked under embers. They ate it boiled, or toasted merely upon the coals.

The maize has many advantages. Its leaves are useful in feeding cattle; a circumstance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, sandy soil agrees best with this plant. The seed may be frozen in the spring two or three times without impairing the harvest. In short, it is of all plants the one that is least injured by the excess of drought or moisture.

These causes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the English to preserve and even promote it in their settlements. They sold it to Portugal, to South America, and the sugar islands, and had sufficient for their own use. They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains; all of which succeeded, though not so perfectly as in their native soil. With the superfluity
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of their harvests, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of the forests, the colonists formed a trade with all the wealthiest and most populous provinces of the new world.

The mother country, finding that her northern colonies had supplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would soon become her rivals even in Europe at all the markets for salt and corn, endeavoured to divert their industry to objects that might be more useful to her. She wanted neither motives nor means to bring about this purpose, and had soon an opportunity to carry it into execution.

VI.

The ENGLISH find the necessity of having their naval stores from AMERICA.

THE greatest part of the pitch and tar the English wanted for their fleets, used to be furnished by Sweden. In 1703, that state was so blind to its true interest, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the restrictions of an exclusive patent. The first effect of this monopoly was a sudden and unnatural increase of price. England, taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by considerable premiums the importation of all sorts of naval stores

stores which North America could furnish.

These rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother country and the colonies from giving to this infant revolution of commerce the attention which it merited. The northern nations, whose interests were united, taking this inaction, which was only occasioned by the hurry of a war, for an absolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay upon the exportation of marine stores every restrictive clause that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this end, they entered into mutual engagements, which were made public in 1718, a time when all the maritime powers still felt the effects of a war that had continued fourteen years.

England was alarmed by so odious a convention. She dispatched to America men of sufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how necessary it was for them to assist the views of the mother country; and of sufficient experience to direct their first attempts towards great objects, without making them pass through those minute details, which quickly extinguish an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very short time such quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards
and

and masts, were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that she was enabled to supply the nations around her.

This sudden success blinded the British government. The cheapness of the commodities furnished by the colonies, in comparison of those which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage which seemed to insure a constant preference. Upon this the ministry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total stop ensued in this branch of trade, and made them sensible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which, tho' they were not laid so high as formerly, were sufficient to give to the vent of American stores the greatest superiority, at least in England, over those of the northern nations.

The woods, though they constituted the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother country. The produce of them had long been exported by the English to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uses. As these traders did not take in return merchandise sufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice

practice with the Hamburgers, and even the Dutch, to import on their bottoms the produce of the most fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export and carrying had considerably augmented the British navy. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all those duties of importation, which Russian, Swedish, and Danish timber are subject to. This first favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the same time that it comprehended every species of wood in general, was principally calculated for those which are employed in ship-building. An advantage, so considerable in itself as this was, would have been greatly improved, if the colonies had built among themselves vessels proper for transporting cargoes of such weight; if they had made wood-yards, from which they might have furnished complete freights; and, finally, if they had abolished the custom of burning in the spring the leaves which had fallen in the preceding autumn. This foolish practice destroys all the young trees, that are beginning in that season to shoot out; and leaves only the old ones, which are too rotten for use. It is notorious, that vessels constructed in America, or with American materials, last but a very short time. This inconvenience may arise from

from several causes; but that which has just been mentioned merits the greater attention, as it may be easily remedied. Besides timber and masts for ships, America is capable of furnishing likewise sails and rigging, by the cultivation of hemp and flax.

The French protestants, who, when driven from their country by a victorious prince fallen into a state of bigotry, carried their national industry every where into the countries of his enemies, taught England the value of two commodities of the utmost importance to a maritime power. Both flax and hemp were cultivated with some success in Scotland and Ireland. Yet the manufactures of the nation were chiefly supplied with both from Russia. To put a stop to this foreign importation, it was proposed to grant a bounty to North America of 6*l.* for every ton of these articles. But habit, which is an enemy to all novelties, however useful, prevented the colonists at first from being allured by this bait. They are since reconciled to it; and the produce of their flax and hemp serves to keep at home a considerable part of 1,968,750*l.* which went annually out of Great Britain for the purchase of foreign linens. It may, perhaps, in time be improved so far as to be equal to the whole demand of the kingdom, and even to supplant other nations in all the markets. A

soil entirely fresh, which costs nothing, does not stand in need of manure, is intersected by navigable rivers, and may be cultivated by slaves, affords ground for immense expectations. To the timber and canvas requisite for shipping we have yet to add iron. The northern parts of America furnish this commodity, to assist in acquiring the gold and silver which so abundantly flow in the southern.

VII.

ENGLAND begins to get Iron from
NORTH AMERICA.

THIS most useful of metals, so necessary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the most fatal use of it, that of making weapons. The English themselves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had lavished on the continent where they were settled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother country by being clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, aided by those of the coppice woods, which are used in the working of them, had procured imposts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and sophistry,

stry, these enemies to the public good had stifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their interests. At length the government took the first steps towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted duty-free; but at the same time it was forbid to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles inland. This whimsical restriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance so manifestly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted exclusively to the capital.

Though nothing could be more reasonable than this demand, it met with the strongest opposition. Combinations of interested individuals were formed to represent, that the hundred and nine forges wrought in England, not reckoning those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of

of

of underwood, and that those woods furnished moreover bark for the tanneries and materials for ship-building; and that the American iron, not being proper for steel for making sharp instruments or many of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a stop to the forges of Great Britain.

These groundless representations had no weight with the parliament, who saw clearly, that, unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation would soon lose the numberless manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so long been enriched, and that there was no time to be lost in putting a stop to the progress other nations by their industry had made in it. It was therefore resolved, that the free importation of iron from America should be permitted in all the ports of England. This wise resolution was accompanied with an act of justice. The proprietors of coppices were by a statute of Henry VIII. forbidden to clear their lands: the parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make such use of their estates as they should think proper.

Previous to these regulations, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Russia, 437,500*l.* for the iron she

purchased of them. This tribute is greatly lessened, and will lessen still more. The ore is found in such quantities in America, and is so easily separated from the ground, that the English do not despair of having it in their power to furnish Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the East Indies, and every country in the world with which they have any commercial connections.

Perhaps the English may be too sanguine in their representations of the advantages they expect from so many articles of importance to their navy. But it is sufficient for them, if by the assistance of their colonies they can free themselves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe have hitherto kept them with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Formerly their operations might have been prevented, or at least interrupted, by a refusal of the necessary materials. From this time nothing will be able to check their natural ardour for the dominion of the sea, which alone can insure to them the empire of the new world.*

VIII.

ENGLAND endeavours to procure Wine
and Silk from NORTH AMERICA.

AFTER having paved the way to that grand
object,

object, by forming a free, independent navy, superior to that of every other nation; England has adopted every measure that can contribute to her enjoyment of this species of conquest she has made in America, less by the force of her arms than of her industry. By bounties, judiciously bestowed, she has succeeded so far as to draw annually from that country twenty million weight of potashes. The greatest progress has been made in the cultivation of rice, indigo, and tobacco. In proportion as the settlements, from their natural tendency, stretched further towards the south, fresh projects and enterprizes suitable to the nature of the soil suggested themselves. In the temperate and in the hot climates, the several productions were expected which necessarily reward the labours of the cultivator. Wine was the only article that seemed to be wanting to the new hemisphere; and the English, who have none in Europe, were eager to produce some in America.

Upon that immense continent the English are in possession of, are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, differing in colour, size, and quantity, but all of a sour and disagreeable flavour. It was supposed that good management would give these plants that perfection which unassisted nature had denied them; and French vine-dressers were invited into a country, where nei-

their public nor private impositions took away their inclination to labour by depriving them of the fruits of their industry. The repeated experiments they made both with American and European plants, were all equally unsuccessful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and almost impossible to be preserved in a hot climate. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moist and hot vapours; the seasons were too unsettled, and the insects too numerous near the forests to suffer a production to expand and prosper, of which the British, and all other nations who have it not, are so ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, tho' it will be long first, when their colonies will furnish them with a beverage, which they envy and purchase from France, repining inwardly that they are obliged to contribute towards enriching a rival, whom they are anxious to ruin. This disposition is cruel. Britain has other more gentle and more honourable means of attaining that prosperity she is ambitious of. Her emulation may be better and more usefully exerted on an article now cultivated in each of the four quarters of the globe: this is silk! the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digested in its entrails; silk! that double prodigy of nature and of art.

A very considerable sum of money is annually

nually exported from Great Britain for the purchase of this rich production; which gave rise about thirty years ago to a plan for obtaining silk from Carolina. The mildness of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry-trees, seemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the government to attract some Switzers into the colony, were more successful than could have been expected. Yet the progress of this branch of trade has not been answerable to so promising a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants of the colony, who buying only negroe men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up silk-worms, an occupation suitable to the weakness of that sex, and to the tenderest age. But it ought to have been considered, that men coming from another hemisphere into a rude uncultivated country would apply their first care to the cultivation of esculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate necessity. This is the natural and constant proceeding of well-governed states. From agriculture, which is the source of population, they rise to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nourish commerce, which is the child of industry and father of wealth. The time is, perhaps come, when Britain may

employ whole colonies in the cultivation of silk. This is, at least, the national opinion. On the 18th of April 1769, the parliament granted a bounty of 25 *per cent.* for seven years on all raw silks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 *per cent.* for seven years following, and for seven years after that a bounty of 15 *per cent.* If this encouragement produces such improvements as may reasonably be expected from it, the next step undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, which seem particularly adapted to the climate and soil of the British colonies. There are not, perhaps, any rich productions either in Europe or Asia, but what may be transplanted and cultivated with success on the vast continent of North America, as soon as population shall have provided hands in proportion to the extent and fertility of so rich a territory. The great object of the mother country at present is the peopling of her colonies.

IX.

What kind of Men BRITAIN peoples her North American Colonies with.

THE first persons who landed in this desert and savage region were Englishmen who had been persecuted at home for their civil

civil and religious opinions.

. It was not to be expected that this first emigration would be attended with important consequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are so strongly attached to their native soil, that nothing less than civil wars or revolutions can induce those among them who have any property, character, or industry, to a change of climate and country; for which reason the re-establishment of public tranquillity in Europe was likely to put an unsurmountable bar to the progress of American cultivation.

Add to this, that the English, though naturally active, ambitious, and enterprising, were ill-adapted to the business of clearing the grounds. Accustomed to a quiet life, ease, and many conveniences, nothing but the enthusiasm of religion or politics could support them under the labours, miseries, wants, and calamities, inseparable from new plantations.

It is further to be observed, that though England might have been able to overcome these difficulties, it was not a desirable object for her. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flourishing, and enriching herself with their productions, was an advantageous prospect to her; but those advantages would be dearly purchased at the expence of her own population.

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Happily for her, the intolerant and despotic spirit, that swayed most countries of Europe, forced numberless victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in its state of desolation, seemed to implore that assistance for itself which it offered to the unfortunate. These men, who had escaped from the rod of tyranny, in crossing the seas, abandoned all hopes of return, and attached themselves for ever to a country which at the same time afforded them an asylum and an easy quiet subsistence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes flocked from different parts to partake of it. Nor has this eagerness abated, particularly in Germany, where nature produces men for the purposes either of conquering or cultivating the earth. It will even increase. The advantage granted to emigrants throughout the British dominions of being naturalized by a residence of seven years in the colonies, sufficiently warrants this prediction.

While tyranny and persecution were destroying population in Europe, British America was beginning to be peopled with three sorts of inhabitants. The first class consists of freemen. It is the most numerous; but hitherto it has visibly degenerated. The Creoles in general, though habituated to the climate from their cradle, are not so robust

bust and fit for labour, nor so powerful in war, as the Europeans; whether it be that they have not the improvements of education, or that they are softened by nature. In that foreign clime the mind is enervated as well as the body: endued with a quickness and early penetration, it easily apprehends, but wants steadiness, and is not used to continued thought. It must be a matter of astonishment to find that America has not yet produced a good poet, an able mathematician, or a man of genius in any single art or science. They possess in general a readiness for acquiring the knowledge of every art or science, but not one of them shews any decisive talent for one in particular. More early advanced at first, and arriving at a state of maturity sooner than we do, they are much behind us in the later part of life.

Perhaps it will be said, that their population is not very numerous in comparison with that of all Europe together; that they want aids, masters, models, instruments, emulation in the arts and sciences; that education with them is too much neglected, or too little improved. But we may observe, that in proportion we see more persons in America of good birth, of an easy competent fortune, with a greater share of leisure and of other means of improving their natural

tural abilities, than are found in Europe, where even the very method of training up youth is often repugnant to the progress and unfolding of reason and genius. Is it possible, that although the Creoles educated with us have every one of them good sense, or at least the most part of them, yet not one should have arisen to any great degree of perfection in the slightest pursuit; and that among such as have staid in their own country no one has distinguished himself by a confirmed superiority in those talents which lead to fame? Has nature, then, punished them for having crossed the ocean? Are they a race of people degenerated by transplanting, by growth, and by mixture? Will not time be able to reduce them to the nature of their climate? Let us beware of pronouncing on futurity, before we have the experience of several centuries. Let us wait till a more ample burst of light has shone over the new hemisphere. Let us wait till education may have corrected the unsurmountable tendency of the climate towards the enervating pleasures of luxury and sensuality. Perhaps we shall then see that America is propitious to genius and the arts, that give birth to peace and society. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece, will produce, perhaps, on the continent, or in the Archipelago that surrounds it,

it, another Homer, a Theocritus, and especially an Anacreon. Perhaps another Newton is to arise in New Britain. From British America, without doubt, will proceed the first rays of the sciences, if they are at length to break through a sky so long time clouded. By a singular contrast with the old world, in which the arts have travelled from the south towards the north, in the new one the north will be found to enlighten the southern parts. Let the British clear the ground, purify the air, alter the climate, improve nature, and a new universe will arise out of their hands for the glory and happiness of humanity. But it is necessary that they should take steps conformable to this noble design, and aim by just and laudable means to form a population fit for the creation of a new world. This is what they have not yet done.

The second class of their colonists was formerly composed of malefactors which the mother country transported after condemnation to America, and who were bound to a servitude of seven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchased them out of the hands of justice. The disgust is grown universal against these corrupt men, always disposed to commit fresh crimes.

These have been replaced by indigent persons, whom the impossibility of subsisting in Europe

Europe has driven into the new world. Having embarked without being capable of paying for their passage, these wretches are at the disposal of their captain, who sells them to whom he pleases.

This sort of slavery is for a longer or shorter time ; but it can never exceed eight years. If among these emigrants there are any who are not of age, their servitude lasts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

None of those who are contracted for have a right to marry without the approbation of their master, who sets what price he chuses on his consent. If any one of them runs away, and he is retaken, he is to serve a week for each day's absence, a month for every week, and six months for one.* The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deserted from his service, may sell him to whom he pleases, but only for the term of his first contract. Besides, neither the service, nor the sale, carry any ignominy with it. At the end of his servitude, the contracted person enjoys all the rights of a free denizen. With his freedom he receives from the master whom he has served, either implements for husbandry, or utensils proper for his work.

But with whatever appearance of justice
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this species of traffic may be coloured, the greatest part of the strangers who go over to America under these conditions, would never set their foot on board a ship, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland spread themselves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany which are the best peopled or least happy. There they set forth with raptures the delights of the new world, and the fortunes easily acquired in that country. The simple men, seduced by these magnificent promises, blindly follow these infamous brokers engaged in this scandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amsterdam or Rotterdam. These, either in pay with the British government, or with companies who have undertaken to stock the colonies with people, give a gratuity to the men employed in this service. Whole families are sold, without their knowledge, to masters at a distance, who impose the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and necessity do not permit the sufferers to give a refusal. The British form their supplies of men for husbandry as princes do for war; for a purpose more useful and more humane, but by the same artifices. The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by the attention paid to the suppressing of all correspondence with America, which might unveil a mystery of imposture

and

and iniquity too well disguised by the interested principles which gave rise to it.

But, in short, there would not be so many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppression of government which makes these chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds, or contemptible at home, having nothing worse to fear in a foreign climate, easily give themselves up to the hope of a better lot. The means used to retain them in a country where chance has given him birth, are fit only to excite in them a desire to quit it. It is imagined that they are to be under the constant restraint of prohibitions, menaces, and punishments: these do but exasperate them, and drive them to desertion by the very forbiddance of it. They should be attached by soothing means; by fair expectations; whereas they are imprisoned, and bound: man, born free, is restrained from attempting to exist in regions where heaven and earth offer him an asylum. It has been thought better to stifle him in his cradle than to let him seek for his living in some climate that is ready to give him succour. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! these are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

Is it then become necessary to lay open to the nations the schemes that are formed against their liberty? Must they be told, that, by a conspiracy of the most odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which must deprive even despair itself of every resource? For these two centuries past, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating among them in the secret recesses of the cabinet that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompassed on every side. At every negotiation fresh links were added to the chain so artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make states more extensive, but subjects more submissive, by gradually substituting military government in lieu of the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The several potentates have all equally strengthened themselves in their tyranny by their conquests or by their losses. When they were victorious, they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the misery of their pusillanimous subjects; whether ambition made them competitors or adversaries, they entered into league or alliance only to aggravate the servitude of the people. If they chose to kindle war, or maintain peace, they were sure to turn to the advantage of their authority either the raising or debasing of their people. If they ceded a province, they

exhausted every other to recover it, in order to make amends for their loss. If they acquired a new one, the haughtiness they affected out of it, was the occasion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another by turns every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur sometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalry, sometimes to obliterate the character of the nations; as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to subject the nations, one by means of another, to the despotism they had constantly been preparing for them. Ye people who all groan more or less secretly, doubt not of your condition; those who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear of you. In the extremity of wretchedness, one single resource remained for you; that of escape and emigration.—Even that has been shut against you.

Princes have agreed among themselves to restore to one another not only deserters, who for the most part, inlisted by compulsion or by fraud, have a good right to escape; not only rogues, who in reality ought not to find a refuge any where; but indifferently all their subjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

Thus all you unhappy labourers, who find neither subsistence nor work in your own coun-

countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born, ye have no refuge but under ground. All ye artists and workmen of every class harraſſed by monopolists, who are refused the right of working at your own free disposal, without having purchased the privileges of your calling; ye who are kept for your whole life in the work-shop, for the purpose of enriching a privileged factor; ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages; never expect to live out of a country where soldiers and guards keep you imprisoned; go wander in despair, and die of regret. If ye venture to groan, your cries will be re-ecchoed and lost in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your escape, ye will be pursued even beyond mountains and rivers: ye will be sent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture; and to that eternal restraint to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewise, whom nature has endowed with a free spirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you erase from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity. Applaud every attack made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or else maintain a profound silence in the recesses of obscurity and concealment.

All ye who were born in those barbarous states, where the condition for the mutual restoration of deserters has been entered into by the several princes, and sealed by a treaty; recollect the inscription Dante has engraved on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, lasciate omai ogni speranza*: "You who enter here, may leave behind you every hope."

What! is there then no asylum remaining beyond the seas? Will not Britain open her colonies to those wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the insupportable yoke of their own country? What need has she of that infamous band of contracted slaves, kidnapped and debauched by the shameful means employed by every state to increase their armies? What need has she of those beings still more miserable, of whom she composes the third part of her American population? Yes, by an iniquity the more shocking as it apparently the less necessary, her northern colonies have had recourse to the traffic and slavery of the negroes. It will not be disowned, that they may be better fed, better clothed, less ill treated, and less overburdened with toil, than in the islands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they seldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But still what must be the burden of a man's life who is condemned to languish
in

in eternal slavery? Some humane sectaries, Christians who look for virtues in the gospel more than for opinions, have often been desirous of restoring to their slaves that liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compensation; but they have been a long time withheld by a law of the state, which directed that an assignment of a sufficiency for subsistence should be made to those who were set at liberty.

Let us rather say, The convenient custom of being waited on by slaves; the fondness we have for power, which we attempt to justify by pretending to alleviate their servitude; the opinion so readily entertained, that they do not complain of a state which is by time changed into nature; these are the sophisms of self-love, calculated to appease the clamours of conscience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil dispositions, or prone to do ill by choice; but even among those whom nature seems to have formed just and good, there are but few who possess a soul sufficiently disinterested, courageous, and great, to do any good action, if they must sacrifice some advantage for it.

But still the quakers have just set an example which ought to make an epocha in the history of religion and humanity. In one of these assemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himself moved by

the impulse of the holy Spirit, has a right of speaking; one of the brethren, who was himself undoubtedly inspired on this occasion, arose and said: “How long then shall
 “ we have two consciences, two measures,
 “ two scales; one in our own favour, one
 “ for the ruin of our neighbour, both equally false? Is it for us, brethren, to complain at this moment, that the parliament
 “ of Britain wishes to enslave us, and to
 “ impose upon us the yoke of subjects, without leaving us the rights of citizens; while
 “ for this century past, we have been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by keeping
 “ in bonds of the hardest slavery men who
 “ are our equals and our brethren? What
 “ have those unhappy creatures done to us,
 “ whom nature hath separated from us by
 “ barriers so formidable, whom our avarice
 “ has sought after thro’ storms and wrecks,
 “ and brought away from the midst of their
 “ burning sands, or from their dark forests
 “ inhabited by tygers? What crime have
 “ they been guilty of, that they should be
 “ torn from a country which fed them without
 “ toil, and that they should be transplanted by us to a land where they perish
 “ under the labours of servitude? Father of
 “ heaven, what family hast Thou then created, in which the elder born, after having seized on the property of their brethren,
 “ thren,

“ thren, are still resolved to compel them,
 “ with stripes, to manure with the blood of
 “ their veins and the sweat of their brow
 “ that very inheritance of which they have
 “ been robbed? Deplorable race! whom we
 “ render brutes, to tyrannize over them;
 “ in whom we extinguish every power of
 “ the soul, to load their limbs and their bo-
 “ dies with burdens; in whom we efface
 “ the image of God, and the stamp of
 “ manhood: a race mutilated and disho-
 “ noured as to the faculties of mind and
 “ body, throughout its existence, by us
 “ who are Christians and Britons! Bri-
 “ tons, ye people favoured by Heaven, and
 “ respected on the seas, would ye be free
 “ and tyrants at the same instant? No,
 “ brethren: it is time we should be confi-
 “ stent with ourselves. Let us set free those
 “ miserable victims of our pride: let us re-
 “ store the negroes to liberty, which man
 “ should never take from man. May all
 “ Christian societies be induced by our ex-
 “ ample to repair an injustice authorised by
 “ the crimes and plunders of two centu-
 “ ries! May men too long degraded, at
 “ length raise to Heaven their arms freed
 “ from chains, and their eyes bathed in
 “ tears of gratitude! Alas! the unhappy
 “ mortals have hitherto shed no tears but
 “ those of despair!”

This discourse awakened remorse, and the slaves in Pennsylvania were set at liberty. A revolution so amazing must necessarily have been the work of a people inclined to toleration. But let us not expect similar instances of heroism in those countries which are as deep sunk in barbarism by the vices attendant on luxury, as they have formerly been from ignorance. When a government, at once both priestly and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke; when man, become an impostor, has persuaded the armed multitude that he holds from Heaven the right of oppressing the earth; there is no shadow of liberty left for civilized nations: Why should they not take their revenge on the savage people of the torrid zone?

X.

Present state of Population in the BRITISH PROVINCES OF NORTH AMERICA.

NOT to mention the population of the negroes, which may amount to 300,000 slaves, in 1750 a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the British provinces of North America. There must be now upwards of two millions; as it is proved by undeniable calculations, that the number of people doubles

bles every 15 or 16 years in some of those provinces, and every 18 or 20 in others. So rapid an increase must have two sources. The first is that number of Irishmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, who, after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in search of peace and quietness in distant climates. The second source of that amazing increase is from the climate itself of the colonies, where experience has shewn that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. Mr Franklin's remarks will make these truths evident.

The numbers of the people, says that philosopher, increase every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increases as the means of subsisting a family are rendered more easy. In a country where the means of subsistence abound, more people marry early. In a society, whose prosperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich, alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, are as late as possible in forming an establishment, which it is difficult to fix, and whose maintenance is costly; and the persons who have no fortunes pass their days in a celibacy which disturbs the married state.

state. The masters have but few children, the servants have none at all, and the artificers are afraid of having any. This irregularity is so perceptible, especially in great towns, that families are not kept up sufficiently to maintain population in an even state, and that we constantly find there more deaths than births. Happily for us, that decay has not yet penetrated into the country, where the constant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns gives a little more scope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the highest rate, those who cannot arrive at property of their own, are hired by those who have property. Rivalship, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour; and the smallness of their profits takes away the desire and the hope, as well as the abilities requisite for increase by marriage. Such is the present state of Europe.

That of America presents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waste and uncultivated, are to be had, either for nothing; or so cheap, that a man of the least turn for labour, is furnished in a short time with an extent, which, while it is sufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his posterity for a considerable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the new world, induced likewise by the climate, marry in
greater

greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married state in Europe, there are two hundred in America; and if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we should allow, at least, eight in the new hemisphere. If we multiply these families by their produce, it will appear that in less than two centuries the British northern colonies will arrive at an immense degree of population, unless the mother country contrive some obstacles to impede its natural progress.

XI.

Happiness of the Inhabitants in the BRITISH Colonies of NORTH AMERICA.

THEY are now peopled with healthy and robust men, of a stature above the common size. These Creoles are more quick, and come to their full growth sooner, than the Europeans: but they are not so long-lived. The low price of meat, fish, grain, game, fruits, cyder, vegetables, keeps the inhabitants in a great plenty of things merely for nourishment. It is necessary to be more careful with respect to clothing, which is still very dear, whether brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners are

are in the state they should be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, not yet polished nor corrupted by the resort of great cities. Throughout the families in general, there reigns oeconomy, neatness, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the passions of easy wealth, seldom break in upon that happy tranquillity. The sex are still what they should be, gentle, modest, compassionate, and useful; they are in possession of those virtues which continue the empire of their charms. The men are employed in their original duties, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the support of their posterity. The general sentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union so much as a certain equality of station, a security that arises from property, a general hope which every man has of increasing it, and the facility of succeeding in this expectation; in a word, nothing contributes to it so much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with respect to their wants, joined to the necessity of social connections for the purposes of their pleasures. Instead of luxury, which brings misery in its train, instead of that afflicting and shocking contrast, an universal welfare, wisely dealt out in the original distribution of the lands, has by the influence of industry given rise in every
breast

breast to the desire of pleasing one another; a desire, without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without satisfaction when they are neither in that state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalry which borders on hatred. They come nearer together, and collect in societies. In short, it is in the colonies that men lead such a country-life as was the original destination of mankind, best suited to the health and increase of the species: probably, they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there those graces, those talents, those refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the springs of the soul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy which so naturally follow an indulgence in ardent pleasure: but there are the pleasures of domestic life; the mutual attachments of parent and children; and conjugal love, that passion so pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it and despise all other gratifications. This is the enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to
love

love, their whole life long, what was the object of their first affection, innocence and virtue, which never entirely lose their beauty.

If any thing be wanting in British America, it is its not forming precisely one people. Families are there found sometimes re-united, sometimes dispersed, originating from all the different countries of Europe. These colonists, in whatever spot chance or discernment may have placed them, all preserve, with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother-tongue, the partialities and the customs of their own country. Separate schools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hospitable people, who hold out to them a place of refuge. Still estranged from this people by worship, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour seeds of dissension that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preservative against this disaster depends entirely on the management of the ruling powers.

XII.

What kind of Government is established in the BRITISH Colonies of NORTH AMERICA.

BY ruling powers must not be understood those strange constitutions of Europe, which

which are a rude mixture of sacred and profane laws. British America was wise or happy enough not to admit any ecclesiastical power: being from the beginning inhabited by Presbyterians, she rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs that in the other parts of the globe depend on the tribunal of priests, are here brought before the civil magistrate or the national assemblies. The attempts made by those of the English church to establish their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithstanding the support given by the mother country: but still they have their share in the administration of business as well as those of other sects. None but catholics have been excluded, on account of their refusing those oaths which the public tranquillity seemed to require. In this view American government has deserved great commendation; but in other respects, it is not so well combined.

Policy, in its aim and principal object, resembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and should be similar to each other in many respects. Savage people, first united in Society, require, as much as children, to be sometimes led on by gentle means, and sometimes restrained by compulsion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reason, as they are incapable of govern-

verning themselves throughout the changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a rising society, government should be enlightened with regard to them, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Just so barbarous nations are under the rod, and as it were in the leading strings of despotism, till in the advance of society their interests teach them to conduct themselves.

Civilized nations, like young men, more or less advanced not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as soon as they come to their own strength, and their own pretensions, require being managed and even respected by their governors. A son well educated should engage in no undertaking without consulting his father: a prince, on the contrary, should make no regulations without consulting his people. Further, the son, in resolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happiness; in all that a prince ordains, the happiness of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and speaks, is the rule of the government; and the prince should never shock that opinion without public reasons, nor strive against it without conviction. Government is to model all its forms according to that opinion: opinion, it

is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may, without finding the least resistance, do an act of authority, not to be revived by his successor without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference arise? The predecessor cannot have shocked an opinion that was not sprung up in his time, while a succeeding prince may have openly counteracted it a century later. The first, if I may be allowed the expression, without the knowledge of the public, may have taken a step whose violence he may have softened or made amends for by the happy success of his government; the other shall, perhaps, have increased the public calamities by such unjust acts of wilful authority as may perpetuate its first abuses. Public remonstrance is generally the cry of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government; and because public opinion governs mankind, kings for this reason became rulers of men. Governments then, as well as opinions, ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent interest of society, the safety and advantage of the nation. This interest is modified by the turn of events and situations; public opinion and the form of the government follow these several modifications. This is the source of

all the forms of government, established by the English, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

The government of Nova Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, is styled *royal*, because the king of England is there vested with the supreme authority. Representatives of the people form a lower house, as in the mother country: a select council, approved by the king, intended to support the prerogatives of the crown, represents the house of peers, and maintains that representation by the fortune and rank of the most distinguished persons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and dissolves their assemblies; gives or refuses assent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are transmitted, has rejected them.

The second kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is known by the name of *proprietary government*. When the English first settled in those distant regions, a greedy, active court-favourite easily obtained in those wastes, which were as large as kingdoms, a property and authority without bounds. A bow and a few skins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchased for a man in power the right of sovereignty, or

governing as he pleased, in an unknown country: such was the origin of government in the greater part of the colonies.* At present Maryland and Pennsylvania are the only provinces under this singular form of government, or rather this irregular foundation of sovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the rest of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whose nomination is to be approved by the king. In Pennsylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not supported by a council which gives a kind of superiority; and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally vested all authority.

A third form, styled by the English, *charter government*, seems more calculated to ad-
duce harmony in the constitution. After having been that of all the provinces of New England, it now subsists only in Connecticut and in Rhode island. It may be considered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themselves elect, depose all their officers, and make all laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the assent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conquest of Canada, joined to the acquisition of Florida, has given rise to a form of legislation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great Britain. Those

provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and consequently absolute, authority. Without any right to assemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every motion of government.

This diversity of governments is not the work of the mother country. We do not find the traces of a reasonable, uniform, and regular legislation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times and of the founders of the colonies, that have produced this motley variety of constitutions. It is not for men, who are cast by chance upon a desert coast, to constitute a legislation.

All legislation, in its nature, should aim at the happiness of society. The means by which it is to attain that singular elevated point, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to say, the sky and the soil, are the first rule for the legislator. His resources dictate to him his duties. In the first instance, the local position should be consulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coast, will have laws more or less relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the sea or land may have on the subsistence of the inhabitants who are to people that desert coast. If the new colony is led by the course of some large river far within land, a legislator ought to have regard

gard to their race, and the degree of their fecundity, and the connections the colony will have either within or without by the traffic of commodities most advantageous to its prosperity.

But it is especially in the distribution of property that the wisdom of legislation will appear. In general, and throughout all the countries in the world, when a colony is founded, land is to be given to every person, that is to say, to every one an extent sufficient for the maintenance of a family: more should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances for improvement: some should be kept vacant for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

The first object of a rising colony is subsistence and population: the next is the prosperity likely to flow from these two sources. To avoid occasions of war, whether offensive or defensive; to turn industry towards those objects which produce most; not to form connections around them, except such as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the stability which the colony acquires by the number of its inhabitants and the nature of its resources; to introduce, above all things, a partial and local spirit in a nation which is going to be established, a spirit of

union within, and of peace without; to refer every institution to a distant but lasting point; and to make every occasional law subservient to the settled regulation, which alone is to effect an increase of numbers, and to give stability to the settlement; these circumstances make no more than a sketch of a legislation.

The moral system is to be formed on the nature of the climate. A large field for population is at first to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring subsistence. Sanctity of manners should be established by opinion. In a barbarous island, which is to be stocked with children, no more would be necessary than to leave the first dawnings of truth to enlarge themselves, as reason unfolds itself. With proper precautions against idle fears proceeding from ignorance, the errors of superstition should be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural passions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, dissipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be established in a new country, the ability of legislation consists in not leaving behind any injurious opinions or habits, which may be cured or corrected. If we wish that they should not be transmitted to posterity, we should watch over the second generation by

a general and public education of the children. A prince or legislator should never found a colony, without previously sending thither some proper persons for the education of youth; that is, some governors rather than teachers: for it is of less moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education arrives too late, when the people are already corrupted. The seeds of morality and virtue, sown in the infancy of a race already corrupted, are annihilated, in the early stages of manhood, by debauchery, and the contagion of such vices as have already become habitual in society. The best educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and contracting acquaintance, on which the remainder of their lives depends. If they marry, follow any profession or pursuit, they find the seeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition: a conduct entirely opposite to their principles, example, and discourse, which disconcerts and combats their best resolutions.

But, in a rising colony, the influence of the first generation may be corrected by the manners of the succeeding. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The necessities of life remove all vices proceeding from leisure. The overflowings of such population have a natural tendency towards

the mother country, where luxury continually invites and seduces the rich and voluptuous planter. All means are open to the precautions of a legislator, who intends to refine the constitution and manners of the colony. Let them but have genius and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will suggest to his mind a plan of society, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheses that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumstances too difficult to be foreseen and put together.

But the first foundation of a society for cultivation or commerce is property. It is the seed of good and evil, natural or moral, consequent on the social state. Every nation seems to be divided into two irreconcilable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property and the hirelings, that is to say, masters and slaves, form two classes of citizens, unfortunately in opposition with one another.

In vain have some modern authors wished by sophistry to establish a treaty of peace between these two states. The rich on all occasions are disposed to get a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to set a higher value on their labour: while the rich man must always give the law in that too unequal bargain. Hence
arises

arises the system of counterpoise established in so many countries. The people have not desired to attack property, which they considered as sacred; but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to absorb the whole. These counterpoises have almost always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble remedy against the original evil in society. It is then to the repartition of lands that a legislator will turn his principal attention. The more wisely that distribution shall be managed, the more simple, uniform, and precise, will be those laws of the country which principally conduce to the preservation of property.

The British colonies partake, in that respect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient constitution of the mother country. As its present government is but a reformation of that feudal government which had oppressed all Europe, it still retains many usages, which, being originally but abuses of servitude, are still more sensible by their contrast with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found necessary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility, to those which modify, lessen, abrogate, or soften, the feudal rights. Hence so many laws of exception for one of principle; so many of interpretation for one fundamental; so many new laws that are at

variance with the old. So that it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code so diffuse, so perplexed, as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wisest men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed against this disorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonstrances have only served to increase the confusion.

By their dependence and their ignorance, the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digested mass whose burden oppressed their ancestors: they have added to that obscure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place, could introduce. From this mixture has resulted a chaos the most difficult to unfold; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there sprang up a numerous body of lawyers to devour the lands and inhabitants of those new-settled climates. The fortune and influence they have acquired in a short time, have brought into subjection to their rapaciousness the valuable class of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and toils most indispensably necessary for all society, but almost singularly essential to a rising community. - To the severe evil of chicane, which has attached itself to the branches in order to seize on the fruit, has

has succeeded the scourge of finance, which preys on the heart and root of the tree.

XIII.

The Coin current in the BRITISH Colonies in NORTH AMERICA.

IN the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the same value as in the mother country. The scarcity of it soon occasioned a rise of one third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of specie which came from the Spanish colonies; because they were obliged to transmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandize they wanted from thence. This was a gulph that sucked up the circulation in the colonies. The confusion occasioned by this continual export furnished a pretence for the employing of paper-money.

There are two sorts of it. The first has in view the encouragement of agriculture, trade, and industry. Every colonist who has more ambition than means, obtains from the province a paper credit, provided he consents to pay an interest of 5 *per cent.* furnishes a sufficient mortgage, and agrees to repay every year a tenth of the capital borrowed. By means of this mark, which is received without dispute into the public treasury,

treasury, and which their fellow-citizens cannot refuse, the business of private persons becomes more brisk and easy. The government itself draws considerable advantages from this circulation; because as it receives interest and pays none, it can without the aid of taxes apply this fund to the important objects of public utility.

But there is another sort of paper, whose existence is solely owing to the necessities of government. The several provinces of America had formed projects and contracted engagements beyond their abilities. They thought to make good the deficiency of their money by credit. Taxes were imposed to liquidate those bills that pressed for payment; but before the taxes had produced that salutary effect, new wants came on, that required fresh loans. The debts, therefore, accumulated, and the taxes were not sufficient to answer them. At length, the amount of the government bills exceeded all bounds after the late hostilities, during which the colonies had raised and provided for 25,000 men, and contributed to all the expences of so long and obstinate a war. The paper thus sank into the utmost disrepute, though it had been introduced only by the consent of the several general assemblies, and that each province was to be answerable for what was of their own creation.

The

The parliament of Great Britain observed this confusion, and attempted to remedy it. They regulated the quantity of paper circulation each colony should create for the future; and, as far as their information went, proportioned the mass of it to their riches and resources. This regulation displeased all persons, and in the year 1769 it was softened.

Paper, of the usual figure of the coin, still continues to pass in all kinds of business. Each piece is composed of two round leaves, glued one on the other, and bearing on each side the stamp that distinguishes them. There are some of every value. Each province has a public building for the making of them, and private houses from whence they are distributed: the pieces, which are much worn or soiled, are carried to these houses, and fresh ones received in exchange. There never has been an instance of the officers employed in these exchanges having been guilty of the least fraud.

But this honesty is not sufficient for the prosperity of the colonies. Though for forty years their consumption has increased four times as much as their population, from whence it is apparent that the abilities of each subject are four times what they were; yet one may foretel, that these large establishments will never rise to that degree of splendour

dour for which nature designs them, unless the fetters are broken which confine both their interior industry and their foreign trade.

XIV.

The BRITISH Colonies in NORTH AMERICA are shackled in their Industry and Commerce.

THE first colonists that peopled North America applied themselves in the beginning solely to agriculture. It was not long before they perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted; and they, therefore, found themselves in a manner compelled to set up some rude manufactures. The interests of the mother country seemed hurt at this innovation. The circumstance was brought into parliament, and there discussed with all the attention it deserved. There were men bold enough to defend the cause of the colonists. They urged, that as the business of tillage did not employ men all the year round, it was tyranny to oblige them to waste in idleness the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furnish them to the extent of their wants, it was reducing them to misery to hinder the people from providing against them by a new species of industry: in short, that the prohibition

hibition of manufactures only tended to occasion the price of all provisions in a rising state to be enhanced; to lessen, or perhaps stop, the sale of them, and keep off such persons as might intend to settle there.

The evidence of these principles was not to be controverted: they were complied with after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloths themselves; but with such restrictions, as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of justice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was severely prohibited. They were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to traffic from one to the other for wool of any sort, raw or manufactured. However, some manufacturers of hats ventured to break through these restrictions. To put a stop to what was termed a heinous disorderly practice, the parliament had recourse to that mean and cruel spirit of regulations. A workman was not empowered to set up for himself till after seven years apprenticeship; a master was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any slave in his workshop.

Iron mines, which seem to put into mens hands the marks of their own independence, were laid under restrictions still more severe. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or
rough

rough lumps, any where but to the mother country. Without crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to fashion it, they had still less the liberty of converting it into steel.

Importation received still further restraints. All foreign vessels, unless in evident distress or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or silver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even British vessels are not admitted there, unless they come immediately from some port of that country. The shipping of the colonies going to Europe, are to bring back no merchandize but from the mother country, except wine from the Madeiras and the Azores, and salt necessary for their fisheries.

All exportations were originally to terminate in Britain: but weighty reasons have determined the government to relax and abate this extreme severity. It is at present allowed to the colonists to carry directly south of Cape Finisterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, salt, fish, planks, and timber. All other productions belong exclusively to the mother country. Even Ireland, that furnished an advantageous vent for corn, flax, and pipe-staves, has been shut against them by an act of parliament of 1766.

The parliament, which is the representative of the nation, assumes the right of
 2 directing

directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the British dominions. It is by that authority they pretend to regulate the connections between the mother country and the colonies; to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action, between the scattered parts of the immense empire. There should, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the relations that may be useful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole society. The parliament is the only body that can assume such an important power. But they ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of that confederated society. This is an inviolable maxim, especially in a state where all the powers are formed and directed for the preservation of natural liberty.

They departed from that principle of impartiality, which alone can maintain the equal state of independance among the several members of a free government, when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother country all their productions, even those which were not for its own consumption; when they were obliged to take from the mother country all kinds of merchandise, even those which came from foreign nations. This imperious and useless restraint, loading the sales and purchases of the Americans with unnecessary and ruinous charges, has

of course lessened their activity, and consequently diminished their profits; and it has been only for the purpose of enriching a few merchants, or some factors at home, that the rights and interests of the colonies have thus been sacrificed. All they owed to Britain for the protection they received from her, was but a preference in the sale and importation of all such of their commodities as she could consume; and a preference in the purchase and in the exportation of all such merchandise as came from her hands: So far all submission was a return of gratitude; beyond it, all obligation was violence.

It is thus that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Transgression is the first effect produced by unreasonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that smuggling was contrary to the fundamental interest of their settlements, to all reason of government, and to the express intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings, that the subject who pays duty is oppressed by him who does not pay it; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by disappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing such frauds, and fresh penalties inflicted for the punishment of them. The voice of interest, reason, and equity, has prevailed over
all

all the clamours and attempts of finance: Foreign importations smuggled into North America, amount to one third of those which pay duty.

An indefinite liberty, or merely a restraint within due bounds, will stop the prohibited engagements of which so much complaint has been made. Then the colonies will arrive at a state of affluence, which will enable them to discharge a weight of debt due to the mother country, amounting, perhaps, to 6,562,500*l.* and to draw yearly from thence goods to the amount of 4,725,000*l.* agreeable to the calculation of American consumption stated by the parliament of Great Britain in 1766. But instead of this pleasing prospect, which one should imagine must of course arise from the constitution of the British government, was there any necessity, by a pretension not to be supported among a free people, to introduce into the colonies, with the hardships of taxation, the seeds of disorder and discord, and perhaps to kindle a flame which it is not so easy to extinguish as to light up?

XV.

Of the Taxation of the Colonies.

1. *The mother-country has attempted to establish taxes in the colonies of North America. Whether she had a right to do this?*

BRITAIN had just emerged from a war, as one may say universal, during which her fleets had planted the standard of victory over all the seas, and her conquests had enlarged her dominion with an immense territory in both the Indies. Such a sudden increase gave her in the eyes of all the world a splendour that must raise envy and admiration; but within herself she was continually reduced to grieve at her triumphs. Crushed with a load of debt to the amount of 145,687,500 *l.* that cost her an interest of 4,881,515 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* a-year, she was with difficulty able to support the current expences of the state, with a revenue of 10,500,000 *l.* and that revenue, far from increasing, was not even secure of continuance.

The land was charged with a higher tax than it had ever been in time of peace. New duties on houses and windows undermined that sort of property; and an increase of stock on a review of the finances depressed the

the value of the whole. A terror had been struck even into luxury itself, by taxes heaped on plate, cards, dice, wines, and brandy. No further expectation was to be had from commerce, which paid in every port, at every issue for the merchandise of Asia, for the produce of America, for spices, silks, for every article of export or import, whether manufactured or unwrought. The prohibitions of heavy duties had fortunately restrained the abuses of spirituous liquors; but that was partly at the expence of the public revenue. It was thought amends would be made by one of those expedients which it is generally easy to find, but hazardous to look out for, among the objects of general consumption and absolute necessity. Duties were laid on the drink of the common people, on malt, cyder, and beer. Every spring was strained: every power of the body politic had been extended to its utmost stretch. Materials and workmanship had so prodigiously risen in price, that foreigners, whether rivals or conquered, which before had not been able to support a contest with the British, were enabled to supplant them in every market, even in their own ports. The commercial advantages of Britain with every part of the world could not be valued at more than 2,450,000 *l.* and that situation obliged her to draw from the balance

1,535,625*l.* to pay the arrears of 51,187,500*l.* which foreigners had placed in her public funds.

The crisis was a violent one. It was time to give the people some relief. They could not be eased by a diminution of expences, those being inevitable, either for the purpose of improving the conquests purchased by such a loss of blood and treasure; or to mitigate the feelings of the House of Bourbon, soured by the humiliations of the late war, and the sacrifices of the late peace. In default of other means, to manage with a steady hand as well the present security as future prosperity, the expedient occurred of calling in the colonies to the aid of the mother country, by making them bear a part of her burden. This determination seemed to be founded on reasons not to be controverted.

It is a duty imposed by the avowed maxims of all societies and of every age, on the different members which compose a state, to contribute towards all expences in proportion to their respective abilities. The security of the American provinces requires such a share of assistance from them, as may enable the mother country to protect them upon all occasions. It was to deliver them from the uneasiness that molested them, that Britain had engaged in a war which has multiplied her debts: they ought then to aid

aid her in bearing or lessening the weight of that overcharge. At present, when they are freed of all apprehension from the attempts of a formidable adversary, which they have fortunately removed, can they without injustice refuse their deliverer, when her necessities are pressing, that money which purchased their preservation? Has not that generous protector, for a considerable time, granted encouragement to the improvement of their rich productions? Has she not lavished gratuitous advances of money, and does she not still lavish them on lands not yet cleared? Do not such benefits deserve to meet a return of relief and even of services?

Such were the motives that persuaded the British government that they had a right to establish taxation in the colonies. They availed themselves of the event of the late war, to assert this claim so dangerous to liberty. For if we attend to it, we shall find, that war, whether successful or not, serves always as a pretext for every usurpation of government; as if the heads of warring nations rather intended to reduce their subjects to more confirmed submission, than to make a conquest of their enemies. The American provinces were accordingly ordered to furnish the troops sent by the mother country for their security with a part of the necessities required by an army. The apprehen-

sion of disturbing that agreement which is so necessary among ourselves, when surrounded by adversaries without, induced them to comply with the injunctions of the parliament; but with such prudence as not to speak of an act they could neither reject without occasioning civil dissention, nor recognise without exposing rights too precious to be forfeited. New-York alone ventured to disapprove the orders sent from Europe. Tho' the transgression was slight, it was punished as a disobedience by a suspension of her privileges.

It was most probable, that this attack made on the liberty of the colony would excite the remonstrance of all the rest. Either thro' want of attention or foresight, none of them complained. This silence was interpreted to proceed from fear, or from voluntary submission. Peace, that should lessen taxes every where, gave birth in the year 1764 to that famous stamp-act, which, by laying a duty on all marked paper, at the same time forbade the use of any other in public writings, whether judicial, or extrajudicial.

All the British colonies of the new continent revolted against this innovation, and their discontent manifested itself by signal acts. They entered into an agreement or conspiracy, the only one that suited moderate
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rate and civilized people, to forego all manufactures made up in the mother country, till the bill they complained of was repealed. The women, whose weakness was most to be feared, was the first to give up whatever Europe had before furnished them with either for parade or convenience. Animated by their example, the men rejected the commodities for which they were indebted to the old world. In the northern countries, they were found paying as much for the coarse stuffs made under their own inspection, as for fine cloths which were brought over the seas. They engaged not to eat lamb, that their flocks might increase, and in time be sufficient for the clothing of all the colonists. In the southern provinces, where wood is scarce and of an inferior quality, they were to dress themselves with cotton and flax furnished by their own climate. Agriculture was every where neglected, in order that the people might qualify themselves for the industry of the workshop.

This kind of indirect and passive opposition, which deserves to be imitated by all nations who may hereafter be aggrieved by the undue exercise of authority, produced the desired effect. The English manufacturers, who had scarce any other vent for their goods than their own colonies, fell into that state of despondency which is the natural con-

consequence of want of employment : and their complaints, which could neither be stifled nor concealed by administration, made an impression which proved favourable to the colonies. The stamp-act was repealed, after a violent struggle that lasted two years, and which in an age of fanaticism would doubtless have occasioned a civil war.

But the triumph of the colonies did not last long. The parliament had given up the point with the greatest reluctance : and it clearly appeared they had not laid aside their pretensions, when in 1767 they threw the duties which the stamp-act would have produced, upon all glass, lead, tea, colours, pasteboard, and stained paper, exported from England to America. Even the patriots themselves, who seemed most inclined to enlarge the authority of the mother country over the colonies, could not help condemning a tax, which in its consequences must affect the whole nation, by disposing numbers to apply themselves to manufactures, who ought to have been solely devoted to the improvement of lands. The colonists have not been the dupes of this, any more than of the first innovation. It has in vain been urged, that government had the power to impose what duties it thought proper upon imported goods, so long as it did not deprive the colonies of the liberty of manufacturing the articles sub-

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ject to this new tax. This subterfuge has been considered as a derision, in respect to a people who, being devoted entirely to agriculture, and confined to trade only with the mother country, could not procure either by their own labour, or by their connections abroad, the necessary articles that were sold them at so high a price. They thought, when a tax was to be imposed, it was nothing more than a nominal distinction, whether it were levied in Europe, or America; and that their liberty was equally infringed by a duty laid upon commodities they really wanted, as by a tax upon stamped paper, which they had been made to consider as a necessary article. These intelligent people saw that government was inclined to deceive them, and thought it an indignity to suffer themselves to be the dupes either of force or of fraud. It appeared to them the surest mark of weakness and degeneracy in the subjects of any nation, to wink at all the artful and violent measures adopted by government to corrupt and enslave them.

The dislike they have shewn to these new imposts, was not founded on the idea of their being exorbitant, as they did not amount to more than about 1*s.* 3*d.* for each person: which could give no alarm to a very populous community, whose public expence never exceeded the annual sum of 157,500*l.*

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It was not from any apprehension that the ease of their circumstances would be affected: since the security they derived from the provinces ceded by France in the last war; the increase of their trade with the savages; the enlargement of their whale and cod-fisheries, together with those of the shark and the seal; the right of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy; the acquisition of several sugar-lands; the opportunities of carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbouring Spanish settlements: all these circumstances of advantage were abundantly sufficient to compensate the small proportion of revenue which government seemed so anxious to raise.

It was not their concern lest the colonies should be drained of the small quantity of specie which continued in circulation. The pay of eight thousand four hundred regular troops, maintained by the mother country in North America, must bring much more coin into the country than the tax could carry out of it.

It was not an indifference towards the mother country. The colonies, far from being ungrateful, have demonstrated so zealous an attachment to her interests during the last war, that parliament had the equity to order considerable sums to be remitted to them by way of restitution or indemnification.

Nor, lastly, was it ignorance of the obligations

tions that subjects owe to government. Had not even the colonies acknowledged themselves bound to contribute towards the payment of the national debt, though they had, perhaps, been the occasion of contracting the greatest part of it; they knew very well, that they were liable to contribute towards the expences of the navy, the maintenance of the African and American settlements, and to all the common expenditures relative to their own preservation and prosperity, as well as to that of the capital.

If the Americans refuse to lend their assistance to Europe, it is because what need only have been asked was exacted from them; and because what was required of them as a matter of obedience, ought to have been raised by voluntary contribution. Their refusal was not the effect of caprice; but of jealousy of their rights, which have been confirmed in some judicious writings, and more particularly in some eloquent letters, from which we shall borrow the principal facts we are going to state on a subject which must be interesting to every nation on the globe. ✓

During almost two centuries that have passed since the English established themselves in North America, their country has been harassed by expensive and bloody wars; thrown into confusion by enterprising and turbulent parliaments; and governed by a bold and corrupt

rupt ministry, ever ready to raise the power of the crown upon the ruin of all the privileges and rights of the people. But notwithstanding the influence of ambition, avarice, faction, and tyranny, the liberty of the colonies to raise their own taxes for the support of the public revenue hath on all hands been acknowledged and regarded.

This privilege, so natural and consonant to the fundamental principles of all rational society, was confirmed by a solemn compact. The colonies might appeal to their original charters, which authorise them to tax themselves freely and voluntarily. These acts were, in truth, nothing more than agreements made with the crown; but even supposing that the prince had exceeded his authority by making concessions which certainly did not turn to his advantage, long possession, tacitly owned and acknowledged by the silence of parliament, must constitute a legal prescription.

The American provinces have still more authentic claims to urge in their favour. They assert, that a subject of England, in whatever hemisphere he resides, is not obliged to contribute to the expences of the state without his own consent, given either by himself or his representatives. It is in the defence of this sacred right that the nation has so often spilt her blood, dethroned her kings, and ei-
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ther excited or opposed numberless commotions. Will she chuse to dispute with two millions of her children, an advantage which has cost her so dear, and is perhaps the sole foundation of her own independence?

It is urged against the colonies, that the Roman catholics residing in England are excluded from the right of voting, and that their estates are subjected to a double tax. The colonists ask in reply, why the papists refuse to take the oaths of allegiance required by the state? This conduct makes them suspected by government, and the jealousy it excites authorises that government to treat them with rigour. Why not abjure a religion so contrary to the free constitution of their country, so favourable to the inhuman claims of despotism, and to the attempts of the crown against the rights of the people? Why that blind prepossession in favour of a church which is an enemy to all others? *They* deserve the penalties which the state that tolerates them imposes upon subjects of intolerant principles. But the inhabitants of the new world would be punished without having offended, if they were not able to become subjects without ceasing to be Americans.

These faithful colonies have likewise been told with some confidence, that there are multitudes of subjects in Britain who are not
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represented; because they have not the property required to entitle them to vote at an election for members of parliament: What ground have they to expect any greater privileges than those enjoyed by the subjects of the mother country? The colonies, in answer to this, deny that they wish for superior indulgences; they only want to share them in common with their brethren. In Great Britain, a person who enjoys a freehold of forty shillings a-year is consulted in the framing of a tax-bill, and shall not the man who possesses an immense tract of land in America have the same privilege? No: That which is an exception to a law, a deviation from the general rule of the mother country, ought not to become a fundamental point of constitution for the colonies. Let the English, who wish to deprive the provinces in America of the right of taxing themselves, suppose for a moment, that the house of commons, instead of being chosen by them, is an hereditary and established tribunal, or even arbitrarily appointed by the crown; if this body could levy taxes upon the whole nation without consulting the public opinion and the general inclinations of the people, would not the English look upon themselves to be as much slaves as any other nation? However, even in this case, five hundred men, surrounded by seven millions of their fellow-subjects, might

be kept within the bounds of moderation, if not by a principle of equity, at least by a well-grounded apprehension of the public resentment, which pursues the oppressors of their country even beyond the grave. But the case of Americans taxed by the great council of the mother country would be irremediable. At too great a distance to be heard, they would be oppressed with taxes without regard to their complaints. Even the tyranny exercised towards them would be varnished over with the glorious appellation of patriotism. Under pretence of relieving the mother country, the colonies would be overburdened with impunity.

2. *Whether the Colonies should submit to be taxed.*

WITH this alarming prospect before them, they will never submit to give up the right of taxing themselves. So long as they debate freely on the subject of public revenue, their interests will be attended to; or if their rights should sometimes be violated, they will soon obtain a redress of their grievances. But their remonstrances will no longer have any weight with government, when they are not supported by the right of granting or refusing money towards the exigences of the state. The same power which will have usurped the right of levying taxes, will easily usurp the distribution of them. As it dictates

what proportion they shall raise, it will likewise dictate how that shall be laid out; and the sums apparently designed for their service, will be employed to enslave them. Such has been the progression of empires in all ages.

[N]o society ever preserved its liberty, after it had lost the privilege of voting in the confirmation or establishment of laws relative to the revenue. A nation must for ever be enslaved, in which no assembly or body of men remains who have the power to defend its rights against the encroachments of the state by which it is governed.

The provinces in British America have every reason imaginable to dread the loss of their independence. Even their confidence may betray them, and make them fall a prey to the designs of the mother country. They are inhabited by an infinite number of honest and upright people, who have no suspicion that those who hold the reins of empire can be hurried away by unjust and tyrannical passions. They take it for granted that their country cherishes those sentiments of maternal tenderness which are so consonant to her true interests, and to the love and veneration which they entertain for her. To the unsuspecting credulity of these honest subjects, who cherish so agreeable a delusion, may be added the acquiescence of those who think it not worth while to trouble their repose on account

count of inconsiderable taxes. These indolent people do not perceive that the plan was, at first, to lull their vigilance asleep by imposing a moderate duty; that Britain only wanted to establish an example of submission, upon which it might ground future pretensions; that if the parliament has been able to raise one guinea, it can raise ten thousand; and that there will be no more reason to limit this right, than there would be justice in acknowledging it at present. But the greatest injury to liberty arises from a set of ambitious men, who, pursuing an interest distinct from that of the public and of posterity, are wholly bent on increasing their credit, their rank, and their estates. The British ministry, from whom they have procured employments, or expect to receive them, finds them always ready to favour their odious projects, by the contagion of their luxury and their vices, by their artful insinuations and the flexibility of their conduct.

Let all true patriots then firmly oppose the snares of prejudice, indolence, and seduction; nor let them despair of being victorious in a contest in which their virtue has engaged them. Attempts will, perhaps, be made to shake their fidelity, by the plausible proposal of allowing their representatives a seat in parliament, in order to regulate, in conjunction with those of the mother coun-

try, the taxes to be raised by the nation at large. Such, indeed, is the extent, populousness, wealth, and importance, of the colonies, that the legislature cannot govern them with wisdom and safety without availing itself of the advice and information of their representatives. But care should be taken not to authorise these deputies to decide in matters concerning the fortune and the contributions of their constituents. The expostulations of a few men would be easily overborne by the numerous representatives of the mother country; and the provinces, whose instruments they would be, would, in this confused jumble of interests and opinions, be laden with too heavy and too unequal a part of the common burden. Let, then, the right of appointing, proportioning, and raising the taxes, continue to be exclusively vested in the provincial assemblies; who ought to be the more jealous of it at the present juncture, as the power of depriving them of it seems to have gained strength by the conquests made in the last war.

From its late acquisitions, the mother country has derived the advantage of extending her fisheries, and strengthening her alliance with the savages. But as if this success passed for nothing in her estimation, she persists in declaring, that this increase of territory has answered no end, and produced

no effect, but to secure the tranquillity of the colonies. The colonies, on the contrary, maintain, that their lands, on which their whole welfare depended, have decreased considerably in their value by this immense extent of territory ; that, their population being diminished, or at least not increased, their country is the more exposed to invasions ; and that the most northern provinces are rivalled by Canada, and the most southern by Florida. The colonists, who judge of future events by the history of the past, even go so far as to say, that the military government established in the conquered provinces, the numerous troops maintained, and the forts erected there, may one day contribute to enslave countries which have hitherto flourished only upon the principles of liberty.

Great Britain possesses all the authority over her colonies that she ought to wish for. She has a right to disannul any laws they shall make. The executive power is entirely lodged in the hands of her delegates ; and in all determinations of a civil nature, an appeal lies to her tribunal. She regulates at discretion all commercial connections, which are allowed to be formed and pursued by the colonists. To strain an authority so wisely tempered, would be to plunge a rising continent afresh into that state of confusion from which it had with difficulty emerged in the

course of two centuries of incessant labour ; and to reduce the men, who had laboured to clear the ground, to the necessity of taking up arms in the defence of those sacred rights to which they are equally entitled by nature and the laws of society. Shall the British, who are so passionately fond of liberty, that they have sometimes protected it in regions widely remote in climate and interest, forget those sentiments, which their glory, their virtue, their natural feelings, and their security, conspire to render a perpetual obligation ? Shall they so far betray the rights they hold so dear, as to wish to enslave their brethren and their children ? If, however, it should happen, that the spirit of faction should devise so fatal a design, and should, in an hour of madness and intoxication, get it patronized by the mother country, what steps ought the colonies to take to save themselves from the state of the most odious dependence ?

3. *How far the Colonies ought to carry their opposition to taxation.*

BEFORE they turn their eyes on this political combustion, they will recall to memory all the advantages they owe to their country. Britain has always been their barrier against the powerful nations of Europe ; and served as a guide and moderator to watch over their
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preservation, and to heal those civil dissensions which jealousy and rivalry too frequently excite between neighbouring plantations in their rising state. It is to the influence of its excellent constitution that they owe the peace and prosperity they enjoy. While the colonies live under so salutary and mild an administration, they will continue to make a rapid progress in the vast field of improvement that opens itself to their view, and which their industry will extend to the remotest deserts.

~~Let the love of their country, however, be~~ accompanied with a certain jealousy of their liberties; and let their rights be constantly examined into, cleared up, and discussed. ~~Let them never fail to consider those as the~~ best citizens, who are perpetually calling their attention to those points. This spirit of jealousy is proper in all free states; but it is particularly necessary in complicated governments, where liberty is blended with a certain degree of dependence, such as is required in a connection between countries separated by an immense ocean. This vigilance will be the surest guardian of the union which ought strongly to cement the mother country and her colonies.

If the ministry, which is always composed of ambitious men, even in a free state, should attempt to increase the power of the crown,

or the opulence of the mother country, at the expence of the colonies, the colonies ought to resist such an usurping power with unremitted spirit. When any measure of government meets with a warm opposition, it seldom fails to be rectified; while grievances, which are suffered for want of courage to redress them, are constantly succeeded by fresh instances of oppression. Nations, in general, are more apt to feel than to reflect; and have no other ideas of the legality of a power than the very exercise of that power. Accustomed to obey without examination, they in general become familiarized to the hardships of government; and, being ignorant of the origin and design of society, do not conceive the idea of setting bounds to authority. In those states especially, where the principles of legislation are confounded with those of religion, as one extravagant opinion opens the door for the reception of a thousand among those who have been once deceived, so the first encroachments of government pave the way for all the rest. He who believes the most, believes the least; and he who can perform the most, performs the least: and to this double mistake, in regard either to belief or power, it is owing, that all the absurdities and ill practices in religion and politics have been introduced into the world, in order to oppress the human

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man species. The spirit of toleration and of liberty which has hitherto prevailed in the British colonies, has happily preserved them from falling into this extreme of folly and misery. They have too high a sense of the dignity of human nature not to resist oppression, though at the hazard of their lives.

A people so intelligent do not want to be told, that desperate resolutions and violent measures cannot be justifiable till they have in vain tried every possible method of reconciliation. But, at the same time, they know, that, if they are reduced to the necessity of choosing slavery or war, and taking arms in defence of their liberty, they ought not to tarnish so glorious a cause with all the horrors and cruelties attendant on sedition; and, though resolved not to sheathe the sword till they have recovered their rights, that they should make no other use of their victory than to procure the re-establishment of their original state of legal independence.

Let us, however, take care not to confound the resistance which the British colonies ought to make to their mother country, with the fury of a people excited to revolt against their sovereign by a long series of excessive oppression. When the slaves of an arbitrary monarch have once broken their chain, and submitted their fate to the decision of the sword, they are obliged to massacre the
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the tyrant, to exterminate his whole race, and to change the form of that government under which they have suffered for many ages. If they venture not thus far, they will sooner or later be punished for having been courageous only by halves. The blow will be retorted upon them with greater force than ever; and the affected clemency of their tyrants will only prove a new snare, in which they will be caught and entangled without hope of deliverance. It is the misfortune of factions in an absolute government, that neither prince nor people set any bounds to their resentment; because they know none in the exercise of their power. But a constitution qualified like that of the British colonies, carries in its principles and the limitation of its power a remedy and preservative against the evils of anarchy. When the mother country has removed their complaints by reinstating them in their former situation, they ought to proceed no further; because such a situation is the happiest that a wise people have a right to aspire to.

4. *Whether it would be of use to the Colonies to break through the ties which unite them to the mother country.*

THEY could not embrace a plan of absolute independence, without breaking thro' the

the ties of religion, oaths, laws, language, relation, interest, trade, and habit, which unite them together under the mild authority of the mother country. Is it to be imagined that such an avulsion would not affect the heart, the vitals, and even the life, of the colonies? If they should stop short of the violence of civil wars, would they easily be brought to agree upon a new form of government? If each settlement composed a distinct state, what divisions would ensue! We may judge of the animosities that would arise from their separation by the fate of all communities which nature has made to border on each other. But, could it be supposed that so many settlements, where a diversity of laws, different degrees of opulence, and variety of possessions, would sow the latent seeds of an opposition of interests, were desirous of forming a confederacy; how would they adjust the rank which each would aspire to hold, and the influence it ought to have, in proportion to the risk it incurred, and the forces it supplied? Would not the same spirit of jealousy, and a thousand other passions, which in a short time divided the wise states of Greece, raise discord between a multitude of colonies associated rather by the transient and brittle ties of passion and resentment, than by the sober principles of a natural and lasting combination? All these considerations
seems

seem to demonstrate, that an eternal separation from the mother country would prove a very great misfortune to the British colonies.

5. *Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the British colonies independent of the mother country.*

WE will go one step further, and affirm, that, were it in the power of the European nations who have possessions in the new world to effect this great revolution, it is not their interest to wish it. This will, perhaps, be thought a paradox by those powers, who see their colonies perpetually threatened with an invasion from their neighbours. They, doubtless, imagine, that if the power of the British in America were lessened, they should peaceably enjoy their acquisitions, which frequently excite their envy, and invite them to hostilities. It cannot be denied, that their influence in these distant regions arises from the extent or populousness of their northern provinces; which enable them always to attack with advantage the islands and continental possessions of other nations, to conquer their territories, or ruin their trade. But, after all, this crown has interests in other parts of the globe which may counteract their progress in America, restrain or retard their enterprizes, and frustrate

strate their conquests by the restitutions they will be obliged to make.

When the ties subsisting between old and new Britain are once broken, the northern colonies will have more power when single, than when united with the mother country. This great continent, freed with all connections with Europe, will have the full command of all its motions. It will then become an important as well as an easy undertaking to them, to invade those territories whose riches will make amends for the scantiness of their productions. By the independent nature of its situation, it will be enabled to get every thing in readiness for an invasion, before any account arrives in Europe. This nation will carry on their military operations with the spirit peculiar to new societies. They may make choice of their enemies, and conquer where and when they please. Their attacks will always be made upon such coasts as are liable to be taken by surprise, and upon those seas that are least guarded by foreign powers; who will find the countries they wished to defend conquered before any succours can arrive. It will be impossible to recover them by treaty, without making great concessions; or, when recovered for a time, to prevent their falling again under the same yoke. The colonies belonging to our absolute monarchies, will, perhaps, be
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inclined to meet a master with open arms, who cannot propose harder terms than their own government imposes; or, after the example of the British colonies, will break the chain that rivets them so ignominiously to Europe.

Let no motive by any means prevail upon the nations who are rivals to Britain, either by insinuations, or by clandestine helps, to hasten a revolution, which would only deliver them from a neighbouring enemy, by giving them a much more formidable one at a distance. Why accelerate an event which must one day naturally take place from the unavoidable concurrence of so many others? For it would be contrary to the nature of things, if the province, subject to a presiding nation, should continue under its dominion, when equal to it in riches and the number of inhabitants. Or, indeed, who can tell whether this disunion may not happen sooner? Is it not likely, that the distrust and hatred which have of late taken place of that regard and attachment which the provinces formerly felt for the parent country, may bring on a separation? Thus every thing conspires to produce this great disruption, the æra of which it is impossible to know. Every thing tends to this point; the progress of good in the new hemisphere, and the progress of evil in the old.

Alas!

Alas! the sudden and rapid decline in our manners and our powers, the crimes of princes, and the sufferings of the people, will make this fatal catastrophe, which is to divide one part of the globe from the other, universal. The foundations of our tottering empires are sapped; materials are hourly collecting and preparing for their destruction, composed of the ruins of our laws, the ferment of contending opinions, and the subversion of our rights which were the foundation of our courage; the luxury of our courts, and the miseries of the country; the lasting animosity between indolent men who engross all the wealth, and vigorous and even virtuous men who have nothing to lose but their lives. In proportion as our people are weakened and resign themselves to each other's dominion, population and agriculture will flourish in America: the arts, transplanted by our means, will make a rapid progress; and ~~that country, rising out of nothing, will be fired with the ambition of appearing with glory, in its turn, on the face of the globe and in the history of the world.~~ O posterity! ye, peradventure, will be more happy than your unfortunate and contemptible ancestors. May this last wish be accomplished, and console the present expiring race with the hopes that a better will succeed it!

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